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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

### 1915

#### EXAMPLES OF TIBETAN SEALS

By E. H. WALSH

**T**HE subject of Tibetan seals has already been discussed in this Journal in connexion with the seal of the Dalai Lama, the reading of which was first given by Dr. Bushell in JRAS. 1906, p. 476, referring to the illustration of the seal in Colonel Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, in his review of that book. But he gave no examples of the character.

The Rev. Dr. A. H. Francke in his "Note on the Dalai Lama's Seal and the Tibeto - Mongolian Character" (JRAS. 1910, p. 1205) has deciphered the inscription on the seal, and has also given the alphabet of the Tibetan seal character which he obtained from a Tibetan wood-print discovered in Ladakh. He also gave the inscription on the seal of the rNam-rgyal dynasty of Western Tibet. In the present article I give some further examples of Tibetan seals in the above character, and also of others in which the inscriptions are in Indian character, or which merely bear an ornamental design.

Tibetan seals generally bear an inscription in the above character, which is known as *Hor-yig*, viz. "Mongolian letters". It is, as Dr. Francke has shown, an archaic





square form of the Tibetan character with the letters arranged one below the other in vertical columns, and was invented by the Saskya hierarch Kun dga rgyal mtshan, A.D. 1182-1252, who presented it to the Mongolians. They were to use it for their newly started literature. The characters were, however, too clumsy for general use, and the Mongolians preferred a form of the Uigur alphabet which was founded on the Syriac characters of the Nestorians".



Dr. Francke gave a corrected copy of the Dalai Lama's seal, with certain letters amended according to the Ladakh alphabet, from two reproductions of the seal which formed illustrations, the one to Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 448, and the other to a paper of mine on the Coinage of Tibet,<sup>1</sup> in both of which certain letters which had been indistinct in the original impression of the seal had not been correctly reproduced. As I have already pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the illustration of the seal which I gave in my paper referred to was copied from the facsimile of the seal given in Landon's *Lhasa*; as an impression of the seal which I then had was very indistinct, which is frequently the case with Tibetan seals, and as the purpose of the reference to the seal in that paper was not concerned with the meaning of the characters on the seal or their precise form, I had not thought it necessary to compare it with other illustrations.


I have, however, since obtained an absolutely clear impression of the seal, which was given me by the Dalai Lama himself on a copy of his portrait which he gave me when he was in Darjeeling. A drawing of it will be found in Fig. 1 of the Plate facing p. 15. The characters are as shown by Dr. Francke in his corrected drawing of the seal, with the exception of the bottom word of the middle column, which was not clear on the previously published

<sup>1</sup> *MASSB.*, vol. II, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS.* January, 1911, p. 297.

impressions, and which Dr. Francke gives in his corrected reading of the seal as  *ru*. This word is really  *rtsa* "original authoritative," as was afterwards noted by Colonel Waddell (JASB. 1911, p. 204), and means the "official" seal. The inscription on the seal is therefore (snake-ornament) *Tulai blamai rtza thamka rgyal*, namely, "The royal official seal of the Dalai Lama." He has also his private seal, which is a different one.

The form  of the letter *tsa* differs from the form of that letter  given in the Ladakh block-print alphabet.

I am unable to agree with Colonel Waddell, who reads the last character as *wa* and the last word as *rgyal-wa*, and translates "The original seal of the Dalai Lama, the Jina". I agree with Dr. Francke (JASB. 1911, p. 529) that the word *rgyal* from its position must refer to *thamka*, "the seal," and not to the Dalai Lama. I may also say that this is the sense in which the Tibetan Minister read the seal, and also Dr. Bushell, who reads it "The royal seal of the Dalai Lama", as the word *rtsa* was illegible and had therefore to be omitted. The last character on the seal,  which Colonel Waddell reads as *wa*, is merely to fill up the line. Such stops are common in Tibetan seals. Examples will be found of this identical form of stop to fill up a column in both the seals of the Prime Minister of which I give illustrations further on, namely, at the bottom of the fourth column of the Prime Minister's first seal and at the bottom of the second and fifth columns of the Prime Minister's second seal, at the bottom of the right-hand column of the seal of the two Jong-pöns of Gyantse, and at the bottom of the left-hand column of the recent seal of the Joint Tibetan Trade Agent at Gyantse, in all of which places, as will be seen from the reading of these seals, the word *wa* would be quite meaningless. Also in an earlier form of the

Dalai Lama's seal, which Dr. Francke has published in JRAS. 1912, p. 747, this character does not appear at the end of the seal, as it would do if it were part of the inscription.

With regard to the initial character which Colonel Waddell reads as *Om* (JRAS. 1911, p. 822), I would remark that, whatever the origin of the initial character which is placed at the commencement of all documents and which is commonly known in Tibetan as *myo-shad* ("head mark" or "initial mark") may be, it is not, as a matter of practice, read at all. I have never heard it read as *Om*, and in an explanation of the meaning of the Dalai Lama's seal, word by word, given me by one of the Tibetan ministers of his own accord when I was inquiring about the matter, there is no reference to this sign, as would be expected, if it is considered to be *Om* and to be part of the inscription, but the explanation as written by him commences with the word *Talai*.

The inscription on the earlier form of the seal, published by Dr. Francke (JRAS. 1912, p. 747), is *Dorje 'uchangy: Talai blama-yi tham-ku rgyal*. This seal appears on a letter of the Dalai Lama which Mr. F. Becker Shawe, a Moravian missionary of Leh, found preserved in the archives of one of the old noble families of Ladakh, and photographed between the years 1891 and 1895. It would be interesting to know what is the date of the letter. But, owing to the Tibetan system of sixty-year cycles, the date cannot be ascertained from the letter itself, which will only give the year within the cycle. It will therefore have to be obtained from external sources.

Besides the Dalai Lama's official seal he has also a private seal, which is given in Fig. 3 of the Plate. This seal was impressed in sealing-wax on the outside of a letter, and therefore differs from the other seals illustrated, as the design is cut into the seal, and is not in relief, as in the case of the other seals, which are

sealed in ink. An enlargement of the design on the seal is given below.



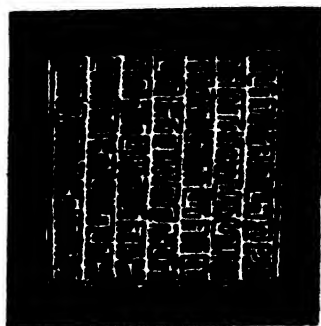
The characters on this seal, though resembling the Hor-yig in general appearance as being of square form and written in vertical columns, are quite different, and appear to be merely ornamental and without meaning.

As the three dots outside the central enclosure indicate the top of the seal, the characters therefore appear to be quite meaningless. If, however, the seal be read the other way up, the bottom group of characters in the third column might be *rgyan*, namely "ornament", though they would be a form of square character different to the Hor-yig, which is used on all the other examples of seals. But, even then, I am unable to suggest any meaning for the other characters; and the two outside columns are somewhat rounded in form and appear to be only ornamental designs. I think, however, that the characters must have some significance, and may possibly be imitations of characters or symbols on old Mongolian seals.

The seals of the Lön-Chhen or Prime Minister of Tibet are an interesting example of the seal character.

The impression of the first seal was given me by the Prime Minister, Srid-dzin Lön-chhen Shattru, when he was with the Dalai Lama in Darjeeling in 1911, and the impression of the second seal this year in Delhi. The

inscription on both the seals is mainly the same, though somewhat shorter in the second seal, seven words being omitted, and the character is consequently larger. I give below a facsimile of the first seal.



This seal consists of seven columns; there are five words in each of the first six columns and four in the seventh, the space remaining in the bottom of any column being filled in with meaningless signs.

The inscription, written in the printed character, is as follows :—

ཐུག	ལུང	པུ	ཐུ	ཁུ	པུ	པུ
དུང	ལུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ
མུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ
ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ
ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ	ཐུ

The vertical columns of the inscription read as follows :—

1. (Snake-ornament) *rgyal dhang mchhog gi bla*
2. *lung. gi. nga. mthar dgah.*
3. *brgya. phrag ldan pai kun.*

<sup>1</sup> In this article ལ has been transliterated as l, as in Rai Sarat Chandra Das's Dictionary, except where it forms the vowels e, a, u, and o. It has, however, no aspirated sound and should accurately be transliterated by a ; ལ has been transliterated as ng, and ལ as sh.

4. *khyub. chhos ldan rgyal pai.*
5. *Chhab erid hphrin las kyi.*
6. *bkra shis dge mtehan 'abar.*
7. *bui bde skyid hphel.*

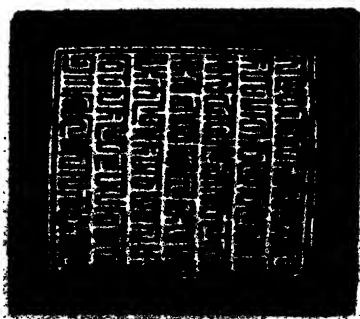
The translation is as follows :—

“ By the precepts of the orders of the most powerful king may the good luck and prosperity of the affairs of the kingdom of the all-embracing religious king blaze forth into a hundred thousand pleasures (and) their felicity increase.”

The spaces at the bottom of the columns are filled up with the following apparently meaningless characters :—

Second column . . . . .	{	022
Third column . . . . .		333
Fourth column . . . . .		111
Fifth column . . . . .		222
Sixth column . . . . .		333
Seventh column . . . . .		222

The second seal of the Prime Minister is given below.







There are three words in the first column and four in each of the others. The words *dgah brgya hphrag ldan pai* in the second and third columns of the first seal are omitted, and also the words *bkra-shis* at the top of the sixth column of the first seal. The inscription written in the printed character is as follows :—

ཨ	ཞི	དོ	ཚུལ	ཆབ	ཁྱི	མཐེ
ཁྱུལ	མགཐེ	མཆེད	ལྷན	ཐེད	དེལ	མེད
དབང	ལྷན	ཁྱུལ	ཁྱུལ	འཕྱིད	མཆེད	ཐེད
མཚུལ	ཞིལ	ཐབ	མཐེ	ལལ	འབང	འཕེ

The vertical columns read as follows :—

1. (Snake-ornament) *rgyal dbang mchhog*
2. *gi bkai lung gis*
3. *ngo mtshar kun khyab*
4. *chhos ldan rgyal poi*
5. *chhab srid hphrin las*
6. *kyi dge mtshan hbur*
7. *pai bde skyid hphel.*

The space at the bottom of the first line is filled up with a character  and of the second and fifth lines with a plain stop,  like the one at the end of the seal of the Dalai Lama, the third with a character  which is rather indistinctly stamped, and the fourth and sixth with a character .

Illustrations of other seals are given in the Plate.

Tibetan official seals are generally square; all the more important ones, which are in the Hor-yig seal character, are so, though less important official seals and private seals are round and much smaller. Examples of these are the private seal of the Dalai Lama already mentioned, and those of the Private Secretary of the Tashi Lama and of

the Treasurer of the Tashi Lama (Figs. 3, 4, and 5 of the Plate).

The seals of the three great monasteries, Sera, Depung, and Gahdan, are also round.





Some Tibetan seals are always stamped in red and others in black. The official seals of the Dalai Lama (Fig. 1), of the Tashi Lama (Fig. 2), and of the Kyab-ying, viz. the Prime Minister of the Tashi Lama (Fig. 10), and the small seals (Figs. 3, 4, and 5) are always stamped in red, and those of the Council (Fig. 6), the National Assembly (Fig. 7), the Kalon Lama Minister (Fig. 8), the Jong-pöns of Phari (Fig. 9), and of the Abbot of Gyantse Monastery, the Tibetan Trade Agent, and the Jong-pöns at Gyantse, illustrated below, and also those of the three great monasteries are stamped in black.

The seal of the Tibetan Council of Ministers (Fig. 6) bears the usual snake-ornament and the words *sde skyid*, "happiness, felicity," in the centre column. The two side columns are ornamental square characters. This seal was given to the Council by the seventh Dalai Lama (A.D. 1708 to 1758) when the Council was constituted, and the motto was given as showing that the Council was to secure the happiness of the people. The Council, which is known as the Kasha (མཁའ་ཤུགས་), from the name of the Council House in Lhasa where it meets, consists of the Shapes (འཕགས་པ་) or Ministers, one of whom is always a Lama. The Prime Minister is known as the Lon-chhen, whose seals have been already described, and the Lama Minister as the Ka-lön Lama (མཁའ་ལྷོན་ལྷ་མ་), whose seal is shown in Fig. 8. The seal of the Council was one of the seals affixed to the Tibetan Treaty of 1904.

The seal of the National Committee, or Tshong-du Düpa (ཚོགས་འདུ་པ་ Tshogs-hdu dud-pa), is shown in Fig. 7 and contains two columns. The first column is the snake-ornament and the word *ryyal*, and the second column *ser*

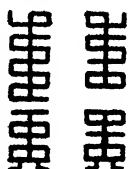


*sa. rGyal zer sa* may mean either "the place known as victorious" (or "royal"), or "the place of victorious (or 'royal') light", or "the place of victorious (or 'royal') speech".

In the word  *zer*, the letter  *z*, is different from the form in the Ladakh alphabet, which is . The form of the letter  *e*, also differs from the Ladakh alphabet, but is the same as that which occurs in the older seal of the Dalai Lama, JRAS. 1912, p. 747.

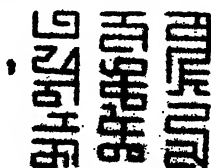
The characters in the right-hand column are distinct on the seal; those in the left-hand column are rather blurred, but they are, I think, as shown.

The seal of the Lama Minister is shown in Fig. 8. In the centre column are the words *bde legs*, "blessing." The two outer columns are square characters, which appear not to represent letters but to be merely ornamental. These characters are as follows:—



The form of the letter *e* in this seal differs from that in the Ladakh alphabet.

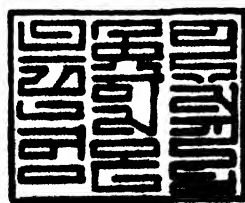
The official seal of the Phari Jong-pöns is shown in Fig. 9. The Jong-pöns (ཡོང་པོན་) are District Officers in charge of a district, at the head-quarters of which is a Jong, or fort. The seal consists of three columns. The inscription is as follows:—



The first column is snake-ornament and the word *phug*, followed by two characters which appear to have no meaning; the second column is *ri*, followed by two characters which appear to have no meaning; and the third column is *bdzongs*. The whole inscription is therefore *phug-ri bdzongs*, namely, "Phari dispatched."

The form of the letter  *dz* differs somewhat from that given in the Ladakh alphabet (  )

Three further examples of Tibetan seals are given below. These seals are stamped in black.





Seal of the Abbot of the Gyantse Monastery.

(Modern) Seal of the Tibetan Joint Trade Agent at Gyantse.

Seal of the Jongpons of Gyantse.

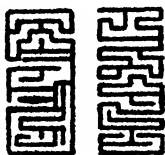
The first is the official seal of the Abbot of the *dPal-hKhor-Chhos-sDe* Monastery at Gyantse. The inscription is: first column, *dpal-chhos*; second column, *spyi dag*. The inscription is abbreviated for *dPal-hKhor-Chhos-sDe spyi-khyab dag-po*, "the pure Head Official of the *dPal-hKhor-Chhos-sDe* Monastery." The Abbot also has a private seal, which, like other private seals, is a small round seal.

The second is the seal of the Tibetan Joint Trade Agent at Gyantse, and is therefore quite modern.

The inscription is : first column (snake-ornament), *Phun*, and a character  to fill up the column; second column, *Tshogs* and a character  to fill up the column; third column, *bde skyid*. The whole inscription being, *Phun-Tshogs bde skyid*, "sublime blessing" or "the blessing of Heaven".

The third seal is the official seal of the Jong-pons of Gyantse. The inscription is: first column (snake-ornament), *rgyal*; second column, *rdzong*. It is literally "the Royal Fort", but is intended for *rGyal-tse rdzong*, "Gyantse Fort" (i.e. "Royal Peak Fort").

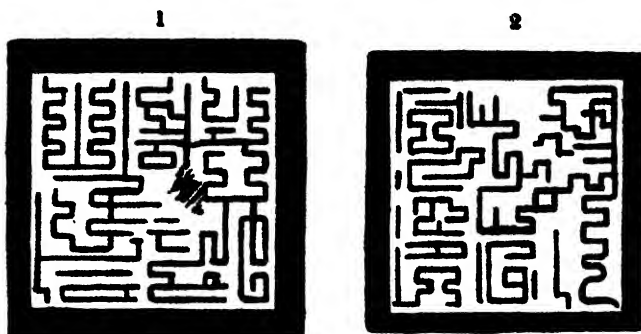
The official seal of the Khyab-ying (ཁ་མཐོང་ "the Protector of the Spheres"), who is the Prime Minister of the Tashi Lama, is shown in Fig 10. The inscription in this seal is as follows - -



I am unable to find any meaning for the design on this seal. The bottom character of the left-hand column might be *ku*, but none of the others bears any resemblance to any letter. I have inquired from the Khyab-ying but have not yet received his reply.

As I have already suggested, the apparently meaning less characters on Tibetan seals may be imitations of characters or symbols from old Mongolian seals. Four examples of such seals are illustrated in Yule's *Travels of Marco Polo*. One of these is on a photograph of a letter of Arghun Khan sent by him to Philip the Fair of France in 1289 A.D., another on a letter sent by Oljaitu to Philip

the Fair in 1305<sup>1</sup>; the other two are on a photograph of a bank-note of the Ming Dynasty, which carried on the paper currency of the Mongols.<sup>2</sup> I give a tracing of the two latter seals below.



Two Seals from a Bank-note of the Ming Dynasty.

The character at the bottom of the left-hand column of the lower seal on the bank-note, which is shown as Fig. 2, is the same as the character at the bottom of the third column of the first seal of the Prime Minister, and the character at the top of the left-hand column of the lower seal on the bank-note (Fig. 2) is the same as the penultimate character in the right-hand column of the seal of the Jong-pöns of Gyantse. None of the other characters correspond with those on the Tibetan seals, but there is a general sort of resemblance between them and some of the characters on the seal of the Khyab-ying.

Besides seals in the Hor-yig seal character some Tibetan seals have the inscription in Tibetan U-chan characters. The seals of the Sera and Gandan Monasteries are examples. The seal of the Depung Monastery has its inscription in the Hor-yig character.

<sup>1</sup> *Travels of Marco Polo*, translated by Colonel Sir Henry Yule, edited by Henri Cordier, vol. ii, p. 474, 1903. The letter of Arghun Khan bears three impressions of his seal and that of Oljaïtu bears five impressions of his seal. The two seals are different.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 426.

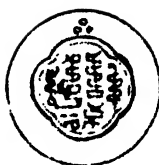
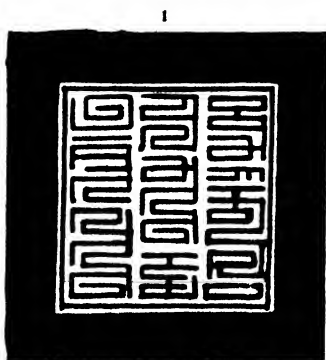
The official seal of the Tashi Lama is shown in Fig. 2. It is known as the *hJa-Sa hKah-tham* (ཨཛཱ་ས་ཨཀ་ཐམ་), "seal of heaven (lit. rainbow) and earth." It is in the Old Indian Lantaa character, and bears a monogram in the centre, and the word *mangalam*, the equivalent in Sanskrit for *Ta-shi* (ཐ་ཤི་). The monogram is made up of the ten letters o, u, m, h, k, sh, t, w, r, and y. It is supposed to have mystic power as a charm, and is, in consequence, called *Nam-chu-wang-dan* (ནཎ་ཅུ་དབང་དྲན་), "the ten powerful letters." Illustrations of this and other similar monograms are given by Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur in pl. v of "The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet" (JASB. 1888, vol. lvii, pt. i, p. 41).

As an example of seals which bear no inscription but only a design the seal of the Tashi Lama's Secretary, which is affixed to the address on the outside of letters which bear the official seal of the Tashi Lama to the letter, is shown in Fig. 4. The design is a conch-shell, which is one of the eight lucky symbols of Buddhism known as *Tashi-ta-gye* (ཐ་ཤི་ཐེན་རྟ་ཐག་ལྷ་མོ་ *btra-skis rtags-brygad namangala*). It is the symbol of the preaching of the doctrine; as its sound spreads far and wide.

Another seal which bears no inscription but only a design is that of the Treasurer (ཐུག་སྡེ་རྩེ་) of the Tashi Lama, which is shown in Fig. 5. The design is an emblem of prosperity.

I have not given any examples of seals in which the inscription is in the ordinary Tibetan character. The seals of the Sera and Ganden Monasteries bear the names of the monastery *sera* and *dgah-ldan pa-brang* in the U-chan character, while that of Deyung (འདུང་གླ་པ་ *adras-pang*) bears the name of the monastery in the same character. The seals are round, and there is a small design in the centre of each seal. Illustrations of these three seals, which were affixed to the Tibet Treaty, will be found in





the illustration of the Treaty which is given by Sir F. Younghusband in *India and Tibet*, p. 306. The impressions are, however, indistinct for the purpose of reading the inscriptions. Mr. B. C. Gould, Political Officer in Sikkim, has kindly had these seals photographed for me in their full size.

The inscription on the seal of the Depung Monastery is clear: *hBras-sprung*.

The inscriptions on the other seals are, however, too indistinct to be read. That on the Sera seal appears to be *Se* (at the top), *va* (on the left side), illegible (on the right side), *chlas* (at the bottom).

The inscription on the Gahdan seal appears to be *dGah* at the top; illegible, probably *ldan*, on the right side; *pho* on the left side, and *bra(ng)* at the bottom, viz. *dGah-ldan pho-brang*, the Gahdan Palace.

Although the inscriptions are indistinct, I give the seals below as examples of this class of seal.



Seal of  
Depung  
Monastery.



Seal of  
Sera  
Monastery.



Seal of  
Gahdan  
Monastery.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

1. Official seal of the Dalai Lama.
2. Official seal of the Panchi Lama.
3. Private seal of the Dalai Lama.
4. Seal of the Secretary of the Panchi Lama.
5. Private seal of the Khyab-ying, which is affixed to letters signed by the Treasurer of the Panchi Lama.
6. Seal of the Tibetan Council of Ministers.
7. Seal of the National Committee (Tibet-gu Dhi-pa).
8. Seal of the Lamas' Minister of the Tibetan Government.
9. Seal of the Jong-pa of Tibet.
10. Official seal of the Khyab-ying, the chief Minister of the Panchi Lama.





## II

### THE INDO-ARYAN NASALS IN GUJRATI

By R. L. TURNER

1. 1. The following discussion of the treatment of the Indo-Āryan nasals in Gujrātī is based on materials which I have been collecting with a view to a more complete account of the sound changes of the language, but of which circumstances have delayed the publication.

Much that is contained in the older comparative grammars of the modern Indo-Āryan languages is of little value, as at the time of their writing the new ideas of the Junggrammatiker had either not been published or at least had not been appreciated by the writers. The inviolability of sound laws is still a golden principle for a student of linguistic change to hold to, and if he is forced to confess to a violation, he must frankly recognize the fact, investigate it fully, and, if possible, explain it. Any modifications of the original theory have not so much struck at its foundations as multiplied the conditions under which we may expect variation. The importance of this has not, unfortunately, always been realized by more recent writers on the sound changes of the modern Indian languages.<sup>1</sup> They have been too often content with saying that such and such a sound develops in two or more ways in the same language without attempting to specify the conditions of variation. To do something towards such a specification with regard to the nasals, and

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this article I have had the privilege of reading M. J. Bloch's excellent book *La formation de la langue marathe*, which all students of Indian languages in particular and of comparative philology in general will welcome as one of the first scientific attempts to explain the phonetic history of a modern Indian language.

particularly *m*, in Gujrātī I have attempted in the following pages.

1. 2.

### Abbreviations

A. Apabhraṃśa.	Mod. Modern.
fr. derived from.	O. Old.
G. Gujrātī.	P. Pañjābī.
H. Hindi.	PI. Primitive Indian
HD. Hēmacandra's Dēśi- nāmanāḷā.	(U'rindisch).
IA. Indo-Āryan.	s. having the same meaning.
Idg. Indogermanic.	Ś. Śaurasēni.
L. Lexicographers.	wel. with compensatory lengthening.
M. Marāṭhī.	indicates a conjectural form.

Where the language with which the Gujrātī word is compared is not specified, Skt. (Sanskrit) is to be understood.

1. 3. There is good reason to believe that Gujrātī is descended from a dialect of Śaurasēni (a question I hope to discuss at greater length afterwards)<sup>1</sup>; possibly the Apabhraṃśa of Hēmacandra forms a link in the chain. But this point still needs investigation (see Sir G. Grierson's notes in the *Linguistic Survey of Gujrātī*).<sup>2</sup>

1. 4. Primitive Indian as represented by the language of the Veda possessed the following nasals: *ñ*, *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṃ*. Of these *ñ* and *ṇ* are never found independently, but only in connexion with their corresponding stops; *ṇ*, due originally to the presence of an *s*- or *r*-sound, is found neither initially nor finally, but is otherwise independent; *n* and *m* are quite independent and are found in all positions; it is possible that final *-m* was replaced by *-ṃ*.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Barnett's statement in *Antiquities of India*, p. 34, that G. is descended from Āvapti seems without sufficient foundation. The Āvanti dialect of Ś. has left so few monuments that it is impossible to draw a safe conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> A difficulty in the way of a close connexion is the different treatment of *-m*. In A. every *-m* tended to become *-ṣ*, e.g. *adṣa*, *raṣṭra* from *adma* *admarāṣ*; G. *adṃ* *cām* (see §. 3 ff.). The chief point of comparison is the close resemblance of verbal forms (cf. §. 1).

although the modern Brāhmaṇ pronunciation gives *-m*. The exact value of *ṃ*, found only before sibilants and perhaps finally, is undetermined. That it was something more than a mere nasality of the preceding vowel seems to be shown by the fact that when it becomes such the vowel is lengthened wcl. (see 6. 417) and that the grammarians distinguished between it and the sound they called *anunāṣika*, which seems to have been a simple nasality of the accompanying vowel. The modern pronunciation given to *ṃ* seems to me to be that of a nasalized labial spirant *-ṽ-* or *-ṽ̃-*, e.g. I have heard *siṃhaḥ* as *siṽhaḥ* from a Marāṭhā scholar.

1. 5. Gujrātī possesses the following nasals: *ṇ*, *ṇ̄*, *n*, *m*, and the nasalization of vowels represented by the mark *-* over the vowel. Of these *ṇ* is found finally as a current pronunciation of final *-ṇy* in pausa and before consonants (see 6. 411), and sometimes I think it appears between a nasalized vowel and a guttural, particularly if the vowel is short, e.g. *ḍgūṭhō* or *ḍṅūṭhō*; otherwise it has no independent existence. *ṇ̄* is formed with the tip of the tongue turned back and striking the palate a trifle further back than for *ṇ*, etc.: the mouth passage does not seem to me to be completely closed during the whole formation of the sound, and it is perhaps a cerebral nasalized spirant rather than a nasal proper; it often imparts a certain amount of nasality to the preceding vowel, in this way resembling the history of the group *ama* > *aḍa* > *ava* (see 3. 32). It occurs in all positions except initially. *n* is formed by contact between the tip of the tongue and the roots and inside edge of the upper front teeth; it occurs in all positions. *m* is formed by closure of the lips and is like English *m* except that the lips are held rather more tautly; it is unrestricted in position. Any vowel may be nasalized, and the nasalization, generally equivalent in strength to Jespersen's δ2, is coincident with the duration of the vowel.

2. Initial *n*-, *m*-

2. 1. *n*-, Ś. *n*- becomes (Mod. IA. *n*-) G. *n*-: *nār* f. "woman": *nārī* s.; *navō* "new": *navah* s.; *nāthō* "having fled": *naṣṭah* "destroyed"; *nām* n. "name": *nāman*- n. s.; *nās* m. "destruction": *nāśah* s.; *na* "not": *na* s.; *naḷ* m. "pipe": *nalah* "reed"; *nīsāsō* m. "groan": *nīśvāsah* s.; *nāmvrā* "to pour": *nāmayati* "to bend": *nīm* m. "Azadirachta Indica": *nimbah* s.

2. 2. *m*-, Ś. *m*- (Mod. IA. *m*-) remains: *māg* m. "road": *mārgah* s.; *maḷ* m. "dirt": *maḷum* s.; *mūḷ* n. "root": *mūlum* s.; *mākh* f. "fly": *makṣā* s.; *māthā* n. "head": *maṣṭakam* s.; *mīthō* "sweet": *mṛṣṭah* s.; *mārvā* "to strike": *mārayati* "to kill"; *mājvrā* "to clean": *mārjati* s.; *mālō* "mad": *maṭṭah* "intoxicated".

3. Intervocalic -*n*-, -*n*-, -*m*-

3. 1. -*n*-, Ś. -*n*- becomes (M. *n*, H. *n*) G. -*n*-: *khay* n. "moment": *kṣaṇam* s.; *cogno* "fourfold": *caturguṇah* s.; *ghāṇ* m. "stink": *ghraṇah* s.; *chay* n. "cowdung": *cha-guṇam* s.; *sunvrā* "to hear": *śṛṇōti* s.; *ōkhaṇvā* "to pound": *avakṣaṇōti* s.; *kaṇas* n. "ear of corn": *kaṇīśah* s.; *gharṇī* f. "mistress of the house" fr. \**garhiṇikā*: *grhiṇī* s.

3. 2. -*n*-, Ś. -*n*- (M. *n*, H. *n*) becomes G. -*n*- (cf. G.M.P. -*l*- fr. -*l*-: H. -*l*-): *māṇas* m. "man": *mānuṣah* s.; *tānvō* "to stretch": *tānayati* s.; *dhaṇī* m. "master": *dhanīkah* "rich"; *hṇō* "base, low": *hīnah* s.; *ghaṇō* "many": *ghaṇah* "thick"; *aṇō* "not quite filled": *anah* "less"; *viṇ* "without": *vinā* s.; *pāṇī* n. "water": *pāṇīyam* s.; *vakhāṇ* n. "story": *vyākhyānam* s.; *āṇṇ* (or *āṇṇā*) n. "courtyard": *aṇṇam* s.

3. 3. Up to the present it does not seem to have been noticed that in Gujrati we have a double treatment of PI. intervocalic -*m*- regulated by definite conditions. For example, Sir G. Grierson in his article in the ZDMG.,

vol. 1, p. 16, vaguely says: "The Ap. rule (H.C. iv, 397) under which a medial *m* is optionally changed to a nasalised *r*, holds strongly in all the IAV (Indo-Aryan vernaculars)." He then puts side by side the forms *ndm* and *ndv* fr. *nāma*, but makes no attempt to specify the conditions.<sup>1</sup>

Actually Gujrātī is one of the few languages, including Singhalese and the North-West dialects (see Grierson, *Pisāci Languages*, p. 118), which have not uniformly changed *-m-* to *-v-*. The conditions appear to be as follows. The treatment of *-m-* depends on the position of the accent,<sup>2</sup> i.e. the later penultimate stress of the type

### 3. 3 1. After the accent *-m-* remains.

3. 3 1 1. Immediately: *jamvā* "to eat", *jaman* n. "meal", H. *jaunar* m. "feast" fr. \**jamanukāra* : \**jañnār* : *jamuti* "to eat"; *camar* m. or f. "flyflap": *cāmarah* s., H. *cāvar* m. s. : *cāmarah* s.; *ugdmvā* "to lift out", H. *ugānd* "to raise" fr. \**ugdurna* : \**udgāmayati*, Skt. *udgāmayati* "to cause to come up"; *namvā* "to bend" intrans., H. *naund* s. fr. \**natānd* : *namati* s.; *nāmvā* "to pour", H. *nānd* "to cause to bend" fr. \**ndurnā* : *nāmayati* s.; *kamaḥ* m. "lotus", H. *kāwal* m. s. : *kumalaḥ* s.; *bhamrō* m. "bee", H. *bhāvrā* m. s. : *bhramarah* s.; *āmḷō* "dark", H. *āwā* "dark-complexioned": *īyāmalaḥ* s.; *ndm* n. "name", H. *ndw* m. s. : *nāman-* n. s.; *gdm* m. "village", H. *gāw* m. s. : *grāmāḥ* s.; *viśdmō* m. "rest", M. *viśvā* s. : *viśvamaḥ* s.; *ām* f. "border", H. *āw* s. : *āmā* s.; *tam* m. "darkness", H.

<sup>1</sup> M. Bloch, op. cit., p. 141, wrongly says that *-m-* changes to *-v-* in all languages except Singhalese and North-West dialects.

<sup>2</sup> The same writer, op. cit., pp. 50 ff., ignores any influence of stress accent in the development of the Mod. IA. languages. To do this in the case of G, at least, seems to me impossible. There is little or no stress now, but its effects are evident. It is worth noting that in many words it must have had a different position from any accent postulated to explain Marāṭhī changes.

*lāwālā* m. "darkness before the eyes, fainting": *lumas-* n. "darkness"; *damvā* "to tire": *damayati* "to subdue"; *vām* m. or f. "fathom": *vyāmaḥ* s.; *vimaḥ* "clean": *vimalaḥ* s.; *saṃō* m. "time": *saṃayaḥ* s. (if it were a loan-word like H. *samāi*, *samāi*, we should expect \**saṃē*); *dhamāṇ* f. "bellows": *dhumānī* "pipe"; *lōm* m. "hair of the body": *lōmum* s.; *bhām* f. "angry woman": RV. *bhāmāḥ* "anger"; *dhīmō* "steady": *dhīmānt-* "thoughtful".

3. 312. Mediately: *pācāmō* "fifth", H. *pācuaḥ* s. fr. \**pañcamukāḥ*: *pañcamāḥ* s.; *sātmō* "seventh", H. *sātvī* s.: *saptamāḥ* s.; *dādam* m. "pomegranate": *dādimāḥ* s.; *nōm* f. "ninth day": *navamī* f. "ninth".

3. 32. Before the accent -m-, Ś. -m- becomes the nasalized labial spirant *ṃ*: this -r- falls together with -r- fr. PI. -v-, -p-, -b-, and the nasalization is transferred to the preceding vowel.

3. 321. *kāvāro* "unmarried", H. *kāvār* s.: *kumārāḥ* "lad"; *sāpva* "to consign", H. *sāpva* fr. \**sāpva-*: *saṃmarpayati* s.; *sāḡ* m. "disguise", H. *sāḡ* m. "imitation": \**saṃāṅgaḥ* "having the same form"; *sāḡhā* m. pl. "a particular fragrant drug", H. *sāḡhā* "sweet-smelling": *saṃmagandhaḥ* "a particular perfume made of similar ingredients"; *sāḡhō* "cheap", M. *sāḡḡ* s.: *saṃmāḡḡaḥ* s.; *pādvā* "to crush": *pramādvāḥ* s.; *sāśrō* "passing through" fr. \**saṃapasarakāḥ*: *apasarati* "to pass away out" (?), *abōḡḡō* m. "hair dressed in the shape of a mango" fr. \**amramākutakāḥ* (*ō* for *ō* by dissimilation with previous *ā*).

3. 322. Similarly in terminations, where the -m- is not felt to be a part of the root (in Jespersen's sense), it becomes -ṃ: e.g. 1st sing. indefinite pres. *puchā* and 1st pl. fut. *puchāṃ* fr. Ś. *pucchāmi*, *pucchissāṃō* (see 4. 3), as opposed to *pācāmō*, etc., where the -m- runs through the paradigm: *pācāmō*, *pācāmī*, *pācāmō*, *pācāmā*.

3. 33. When the pre-accentual syllable is long, -m-

remains: *jamāt* m. "son-in-law", H. *jātrāt* s., M. *jāvat* s. fr. \**jāmātrkaḥ*: *jāmātar-* s.; *samāpō* "like" fr. *sāmāna-* (found in compounds): *sāmānaḥ* s. (cf. *jōḷ* f. "twins" fr. \**yaugala-*: *yugalam* "pair"; *pōthi* f. "book" fr. \**paustikaḥ*: *pustakam* s.; *mōh* n. "face": *mukham* s.; *mōgrō* m. "jasmine": *mudgarah* s.; Buddhist Skt. *dāridraḥ* "poor", Māgadhi *dāliddē* s.: *daridraḥ* s.).

3. 331. *sāmāvrā* "to accommodate", H. *sāmānā* "to be contained in", M. *sāmāvrā* "to contain", cannot be explained as from *samāpayati* "to bring to an end". To suppose a shifting of accent to the first syllable, thus protecting the -m- from change, would necessitate a form \**samavra*; and in any case in H. and M. the -m- would become -v-. The Skt. *śamyati* "to finish, settle" gives as good a sense, and satisfactorily explains the -m-. *śamyati* becomes \**śimē* (inf. \**śamvā*), from which a passive *sāmāvrā* (= H. *sāmānā*) and a causative *sāmāvrā* (= M. *sāmāvrā*) are formed. Similarly, *gamāvrā* is formed from \**gāmvrā*: *gamayati* (cf. *ugāmvā* fr. \**udgamayati*).

3. 332. *gōḷi* m. "ascetic", H. *gōḷi*: *gōḷāmin-* s., *ghāṭ* n. "wheat", H. *gēhā*, M. *guhā* s.: *gōdhamaḥ* s., *kādar* m. "mud", H. *kādarā*, *kādarū* m. "slime": *kardamaḥ* s. are loan-words. For the loss of the nasalization in the last see 6. 42.

#### 4. Final -m, -n

4. The development of final nasalized syllables in Gujrātī, including those treated of in 5, depends upon the nature of the preceding vowel. With the low vowels *ā* and *u* nasalization is retained; with the high vowel *e* the raising of the back of the tongue, causing a raising of the back of the velum also, leads to its loss. I: A. -iā, Ś. -iam, Skt. -itam, -itam, is probably later in its origin than the loss of " in 2.

##### 4.1. Final -m



4. 1 1. -ām, -īm, -ūm, Ś. -am, -im, -um disappear in G. when preceded by a consonant preserved into the Ś. period : 1st sing. fut. *karī* "I will do" : Ś. *karissam* ; acc. sing. *kān* m. "ear" : *kaṇam* ; *jīb* f. "tongue" : *jihvām* ; *ag* f. "fire" : *agnim* ; *dhaman* f. : *dhamantim* ; *kāg* m. "a kind of corn" : *kaṇḡum* s.

4. 1 2. Where -am is preceded by a Ś. vowel, the two are contracted in G.

4. 1 2 1. -akam, Ś. *akam*, A. -aū becomes (i. -ā : nom. acc. n. sing. -ā fr. -akam, e.g. *dgā* fr. \**aṅganakam* : *aṅganam*. It should be noted here that the acc. sing. of masc. words in -a (fr. *akuh*) is -ō, not -ā (fr. -akam) on the analogy : *kān* (fr. *karnah*) : *kān* (fr. *karnam*) ; *ghōdō* (fr. *ghōḡakuh*) : *ghōdō* (for \**ghōdā* fr. *ghōḡakam*).

4. 1 2 2. -ikam, -itam, Ś. -iam, A. -iū become (i. -ī : *dahl* n. "curds" fr. \**dadhikam* : *dadhī* n. s. (but see 5. 2 3), *mahl* n. "curds" : *mathita* - "churned". It must be noted that when preceded by a nasal this -ī becomes -i : m. *pani* n. "water" : *paniyam* s.<sup>1</sup>

4. 2. It is possible that there is a trace of final -n in the nasalization of the adverbs of place *tyā*, *jyā*, etc. cf. *tasmin*.

### 5. Final -āmi, -āmah, -āni, -āna, -īni

5. If the accent of the penultimate stress scheme fell on the termination, it was shifted to the root syllable on the analogy of a majority of connected forms and for the sake of sense protection : e.g. *pūcchantaō* fr. *pucchantan* after *pūcchasi*, *pūcchāi*, *pūcchaha*, *pūccha*, *pūcchāu*, *pūcchun*, *pūcchium*, *pūcchīā*, etc., so also *pūcchāmi* fr. *pucchimi* (cf. A. *pucchami*, *pucchimi*), etc. Add to this the growth of other means to replace the ideas conveyed by inflection, with the consequent loss of distinct pronunciation of inflections no longer necessary for intelligibility (see

<sup>1</sup> M. Bloch gives the same form for M., but says that it is a matter only of writing, not of speech. The G. seems to me to be simply *pani*.

Jeapersen, *Growth of Language, passim*), and it will be seen that the final inflectional syllables came to be pronounced without much stress.<sup>1</sup> This seems to accord with the linguistic history of Gujrātī. For the treatment of the nasals in these syllables differs from that of those in the body of the word. We have already in 4 seen that final *-m* and *-n* are treated differently from medial *-m-*, *-n-*, becoming a mere nasalization, which under certain circumstances is lost with the vowel it nasalizes. We have now to deal with cases where *m* and *n* are not final, but are followed by a vowel.

5. 11. 1st sing. pres. *āmi-*, Ś. *-ami*, A. *-ami*, *-imi* becomes G. *-a*, through \**āḍ(i)*. If this is so, Pischel (§ 454) is wrong in deriving A. *vaffaā* from \**varṭakam* (after the grammarians' form *pacakati* = *pacati*) with the secondary ending as in the Ś. fut. *karissam*. Rather it is from *vaffāmi*, *vaffami*, in which *-m-* became *-ṛ-* and *-i* was dropped (for A. *-ṛ-* fr. *-m-* see Pischel, § 251. Bloch, op. cit., § 67, above 3. 32). The A. paradigm thus becomes clearer :—

*pucchāā*, G. *puchā*, fr. *prcchāmi*.

*pucchasi* fr. *prcchasi*.

(*pucchahi*, G. *puchē*, has *-h-* after 2nd pl.).

*pucchai*, G. *puchā* fr. *prcchati*.

*pucchahā* for \**pucchāā* (after 2nd pl., and with desire to distinguish it from 1st sing.) fr. *prcchāmaḥ*.

*pucchahu*, G. *puchō*, fr. \**prcchatha(h)*.

*pucchakt*, G. *puchē*, for \**pucchamti* after the analogy *pucchāā* : *pucchahā* : *pucchai* : *pucchakt*.

5. 12. Similarly, 1st pl. *-āmaḥ* (*-āma*), Ś. *-āmō* becomes G. *-ā* in the 1st pl. fut., e.g. *karīā* fr. Ś. *karissāmō*, Skt. *karīyāmaḥ*.

5. 2. In *-āni*, *-āna* (and perhaps *-ni*) *-n-* becomes<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> My views have undergone some changes since my last note in the J.R.A.S.

5. 21. n.pl. -āni, Ś. -āṇi, -aṇiṇ becomes G. -A,<sup>1</sup> e.g. *chokrā* pl.: *chokrā* n. "child"; *pakā* n.pl.: *pako* "ripe", etc., cf. M. n.pl. -A. In H. it becomes -ē, where it serves as the n.pl., as the n. has been lost, e.g. *ghōrē* pl.: *ghōrā* sing. "horse". But besides -āṇi there is also found in Prakrit the form -āni. Did these two forms exist side by side at the same time in the same language? It is possible, perhaps most probable, that -āni represents only a conservatism of writing, and that both symbols were uniformly spoken as -aṇi. It may, however, be that the two forms were current together. Jespersen, *Progress in Language*, p. 55, speaking of the shortening of frequently repeated words, says: "Wherever a person is often spoken of, the speaker is understood by everybody before he is half through the name, if it is rather a long one, and therefore he often does not take the trouble to pronounce the latter part of it. He thus exemplifies the principle we meet with everywhere: people do not pronounce distinctly unless they feel that distinctness is necessary if they are to be understood; whatever is easily understood from the context or from the situation is either slurred over or left out completely." Just as in English we have a multiplicity of doublets due to difference in distinctness of utterance e.g. [kju, ɣkju, ʃæɣkju] = *thank you* [ʃes] or simply a nasal vowel with the lips closed = *yes* so perhaps one is justified in imagining that when a string of words came together all having the same inflection, e.g. *sarvāṇi imāṇi pakkāṇi phalāṇi*, there was a tendency to pronounce one distinctly and to slur over the rest producing something like *sarvāṇi imāṇi pakkāṇi phalāṇi*.

5. 22. Inst. sing. -eṇa, Ś. -ēṇa, A. -ēṇi, -ē becomes G. -a (M. -ā): e.g. *dādhe* inst. sing. 'dadh n. milk'. It has been extended, to all nouns of whatsoever origin, e.g. *chokṛē*: *chokṛi* f. "girl".

<sup>1</sup> Only found in *aha* stems, i.e. where *i* sing. is ā; *a* stems (e.g. *ghar* n. "house") have *ph* in ā.

5. 23. n. pl. -*ni* is perhaps to be found in G. *daht* fr. *dadhni*. The Pkt. form *dahim* points to this derivation rather than \**dadhikam* (see 4. 2), which would give Pkt. *dahiam*, while *dadhi* would be represented in Pkt. by \**dahim* (cf. Pkt. *vārim* : Skt. *vāri*).

5. 24. It should be noted that this change affects -*n*- only when it forms part of an inflection, and does not touch any other unaccented -*n*-, if it forms part of the root: e.g. *mākan* m. "bug", *vēraṇ* f. "angry woman", *kākan* n. "bracelet": *matkun-aḥ*, *matkun-am*, *matkun-aḥ*, etc., *vairiṇ-i*, *vairiṇ-im*, *vairiṇ-yah*, etc., *kākanam*, *kākan-āni*, etc.

#### 6. Consonant groups containing a nasal

6. All consonant groups are simplified in G. with compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel. If this vowel is preaccentual, it appears as short in Mod. (I., while accented *ā*, *ī* before a Mod. (I. consonant group become *u*, *i* (and perhaps in all words of more than one syllable).

6. 1. Stop + nasal.

6. 11. In the group guttural + *n* the *n* is assimilated.  
*kn* : *mukāvva* "to separate" fr. \**mukna-*, Ś. *mukkō* : *muktaḥ* ; *sākrā* "to be able", Ś. *sakkadi* : *śuknōti* s.

*gn* : *nāgō* "naked" : Ś. *naggō*, Skt. *nagnah* s. ; *āg* f. "fire" : Ś. *aggi*, Skt. *agnih* m. s. ; *bhāgō* "broken" : *bhagnaḥ* s.

6. 12. In the group *jñ* the *j* is assimilated, giving *ññ*, Ś. *ṇṇ*, O.G. *nn*, *nh*, G. *n* wel. or initially *n-* : *rāñi* f. "queen" : Ś. *raṇṇi*, Skt. *rājñi* s. ; *janōt* f. "sacrificial cord" : *yaññōpavitam* s. ; *vinavva* "to solicit" : Ś. *viñṇavēdi*, Skt. *viññāpayati* s. ; *āñ* f. "command" : Ś. *aṇṇā*, Skt. *ājñā* : *nāva* "to try" : *jñānam* "knowledge".

6. 13. The groups *tm*, *pn* result in a "compromisslaut" and become Ś. *pp* (tt ?), *mm* (l), G. *p*, *m* wel.

6. 131. *tm* : *āp* "you" (polite form) : Ś. *appa-*, Skt. *ātma* nom. sing. "self".

6. 132. *pn*: *pamvā* "to get": *prāpnōti* s. Sir G. Grierson's derivation (Phon. ii, p. 17) of *pām-* from *prāp-* (*prāpayati* ?) does not seem to me satisfactory, despite *kamāḥ* m. "flap of a door": *kupāḥ* s. (is this *m* due to contamination with some other word ?).<sup>1</sup> *āpayati* "to get" becomes *ā. āmvā* "to come to". *sāmnū* n. "dream": *svapnam* s. This is probably a contaminated doublet form fr. \**sāma* fr. \**svapnakim* and \**siṇā* fr. *Ś. sivinam*, Pl. \**supina-*, Idg. \**supno-* (cf. Gk. *ὑπνος* fr. \**h₁r̥nos*).

6. 2. A long nasal is shortened wcl.: *ṇṇ* becomes *n* wcl. An intermediate stage between *ṇṇ* and *n* is marked in O.G. (and in O. Western Rājasthāni, see JRAS. July, 1913) by *nh*. Cf. Tulsi Dās *dinh*: Pkt. *dinṇo* "having been given". What is the phonetic or physiological explanation of this symbol is unclear. At least it was not identical with *nh* fr. *ṣn*, *ṇṇ*, *ṣn*, where *h* is still sometimes heard.

6. 21. *ṇṇ*: there is no certain example of this: the derivation of *khān* f. "murder" fr. *ksuṇṇah* "pulverized" in face of the Persian *khān* "blood" is almost certainly wrong. But cf. *n* fr. *ṇṇ* fr. *ṇṇ*, and fr. *nn* fr. *ṇṇ* fr. *jñ* and *ny*.

6. 22. *nn*, *Ś. ṇṇ*: *chāno* "concealed": *channah* s.; *an* n. "corn": *annam* "food"; *bhīno* "wet": *bhinnaḥ* "split, disintegrated (\*as by water)"; *kinnari* f. "fiddle" *kinnari* "divine musician"; *anīy* n. "corn": *annadyam* "food".

6. 23. *mm*: *samāraṇa* "to kill" fr. \**sammāmyat*. *samō* "opposite": *sammukhaḥ* s.; *dam* m. "money" *drummaḥ* "a coin", borrowed fr. Gk. *δραχμή*.

6. 3. In the groups semi-vowel + nasal and nasal + semi-vowel, the semi-vowel is assimilated, except in the groups *mr*, *ml* where a *b* is developed between the two sounds, when intervocalic.

<sup>1</sup> M. Bloch (§ 137) follows Grierson, and suggests a feeling of linguistic equivalence between *m* and *r* as the cause. This, however, would seem to be wrong in the light of the history of *m* in G.

## 6. 31. Semi-vowel + nasal.

6. 311. *ṛṇ*: *kān* m. "ear": *Ś. kaṇṇō*, Skt. *karṇaḥ* s. *pān* m. "a roll of betel leaf with areca, lime, etc.": *parṇaḥ* "leaf"; *ṣoṇā* n. "gold": *Ś. ṣoṇaṇṇaṇ*, Skt. *saṇvargaṇaḥ* s.; *ān* n. "wool": *ārṇam* s.; *jānō* "old": *jārṇaḥ* s.; *vān* m. "colour": *varṇaḥ* s.; *cundrō* m. "lime-burner": *cūrṇakīraḥ* s.; *cān* n. "lime": *cūrṇam* s.; *jīnō* "thin": *jīrṇaḥ* "worn".

6. 312. *ṛm*: *cām cāmdā* u. "leather": *Ś. cammaṇ*, Skt. *carmaṇ-* n. s.; *camār* m. "cobbler": *carmakaraḥ* s.; *kām* n. "business": *Ś. kammaṇ*, Skt. *karmaṇ-* n. s.; *ghām* m. "sweat": *gharmaḥ* "hot"; *comās* n. "monsoon": *caturmāsam* s.; *bhām* n. "tax on leather": *bharman* "wages"; *kēvaldhām* n. "total absolution": *dharma* m. or n. "right"; *dhāmaṇ* f. "snake": *dharmatṇaḥ* s.; *kāmaṇ* m. "witchcraft": *kārmaṇaṇ* s.

6. 313. *lm*: *kāmas* f. "sugar-cane juice": *kulmaṣam* "dregs"; *gumḍā* n. "boil": *gulma-* m. or n. "clump".

## 6. 32. Nasal + semi-vowel.

6. 321. *ny*, *Ś. ṇṇ*: *pān* n. "virtue": *puṇyam* s.; *rān* n. "wilderness": *araṇyam* "forest".

6. 322. *ny*, *Ś. ṇṇ*: *sānō* "solitary": *tānyaḥ* "empty"; *dhān* n. "corn": *dhānyam* s.; *mānvā* "to obey": *manyatē* "to honour"; *ān*<sup>1</sup> "another": *anyaḥ* s.; *nakhvā* "to throw down": *nyakṣaḥ* "low".

6. 323. *my*, *Ś. mm*: *samāvā* "to be mitigated": *sāmyatī* "to come to an end"; *ghumvā* "to consider, to resound": HD. *ghummai* "to roll" fr. \**ghumyati*: *ghumtighumāyatē* "to resound".

6. 33. *mr*, *ml* become *-mbr-*, *-mbl-*, *Ś. mb*, G. nasalized long vowel + *b*; finally, long vowel + *m*; initial *mr* becomes *m-*.

6. 331. *mr*: *mākhaṇ* n. "butter": *mrakṣaṇam* "oil"; *ābō* m. "mango": *Ś. ambaṇ*, Skt. *amram* s.;

<sup>1</sup> There is a doublet *da*: cf. M. *da* "and". M. Bloch (§ 125) suggests an idg. difference of form.

*tābā* n. "copper" : *tāmram* s. ; *ām* f. "mango fruit" : *āmram* s.

6. 332. *mī* : *ābāvā* "to have the teeth set on edge" : *āmlam* "sourness".

6. 4. In the group, nasal + stop or sibilant, the nasal is lost and the preceding vowel lengthened and nasalized. In the preaccentual syllable this vowel is shortened, and in the postaccentual shortened and denasalized.

6. 41. Accented and preaccentual syllable.

6. 411. *ṛk* : *dkḍī* f. "hook" : *aṅkaḥ* s. : *kḍkaṇ* n. "bracelet" : *kunkaṇam* s. : *rdk* "humble" : *ruṅkaḥ* "beggar".

*ṛkh* : *sḍkhaḥ* m. "chain" : *ṣṛṅkhulaḥ* s.

*ṅg* : *ḍg* n. "limb" : *aṅgam* s. ; *ḍgī* f. "finger" : *aṅgulī* s. ; *bhḍgvā* "to be broken" fr. \**bhangyate* ; *pḍglo* "lame" . *paṅgulaḥ* s. ; *ḍg* n. "horn" : *ṣṛṅgam* s. ; *ḍgṇā* : *aṅṇam* ; *kḍg* : *kanguḥ* ; *rḍglo* "walking slowly" : *ruṅgati* "to move to and fro" ; *ḍgūṭho* m. "thumb" : *aṅguṭhaḥ* s. . *bhigaro* m. "wasp" : *bhṛṅgaḥ* "bee" ; *ḍgaro* m. "ember" : *aṅgarukaḥ* s. Final long nasalized vowel + *g* often appears as long vowel + *n* (cf. long vowel + *m* fr. long nasalized vowel + *h*, above 6. 33 and below 6. 415). I have heard it so at the end of a sentence and before words beginning with a consonant, but never before vowels.

*ṅh* : *jḍgh* f. "thigh" : *jaṅgha* s. . *lūgho* ? "to fast" : *lḍghuā* n. "fasting" : *laṅghati* : *laṅghanam* s.

6. 412. *ṇc* : *ṇc* "5" : *ṇc* s. . *cū* f. "beak" : *cūcūḥ* f. s. ; *kḍcī* f. "sleeved coat" : *kaṇcūḥ* s. . *lūc* f. "bride" : *lūcā* s. , *kūc* f. "key" : *kuṇcika* s. . *ūcā* m. "teat" : *aṇcalaḥ* "the hem of a skirt".

*āj* : *mḍjar* n. "cluster of blossoms" : *maḍjaram* s. . *djṇ* f. "stye in the eye" : *aḍjanam* "eye ointment" : *djra* "to paint the eyes with collyrium" : *aḍjyati* "to anoint" ; *pḍjra* n. "prisoner's bar" : *paḍjaram* "cage" : *bhḍjvā* "to break" fr. \**bhaḍjati* ; *lḍjo* m. "dispute" :

*lañjati* "to blame"; *piñra* "to card cotton"; *piñjā* "cotton"; *pājo* m. "rubbish"; *puñjaḥ* "heap"; *mañjīḥ* f. "Bengal madder"; *mañjīṣṭhā* s.

6. 413. *ṣṭ*: *kāṭo* m. "thorn"; *kaṇṭakāḥ* s.; *vāṭo* m. "share"; *vaṇṭaḥ* s.; *ghāṭi* f. "ankle joint"; *ghuṇṭakāḥ* s.; *cāṭvā* "to pluck"; *cunṭati* "to cut off" (fr. \**cṛnṭati*: *kṛnṭati* ?); *lāṭvā* "to plunder"; *luṇṭati* "to rob".

*uṭh*: *sāṭh* f. "ginger"; *ṣuṭhiḥ* f. s.; *cāṭhra* "to turn and toss over"; *cunṭhayati* "to hurt"; *laṭhō* "violent"; *luṇṭhati* "to agitate"; *kāṭhāl* "maritime"; *kaṇṭhāḥ* "boat"; *kāṭhō* m. "shore"; *kaṇṭhakāḥ* "neck, \*top of a jar, \*edge" (cf. *kāṭhāl*).

*ṇḍ*: *dāṇḍi* f. "clothes-stick"; *daṇḍikā* "stick"; *khāḍra* "to pound"; *khaṇḍatē* "to break"; *ḍā* m. "testicle"; *aṇḍaḥ* "egg"; *māḍvā* "to dispose"; *maṇḍatē* "to decorate"; *tāḍlā* m.pl. "grains"; *taṇḍulam* "grain"; *bhāḍ* "obscene"; *bhaṇḍaḥ* "buffoon"; *rāḍ* f. "widow"; *raṇḍā* s.; *māḍvō* m. "booth"; *maṇḍapaḥ* s.; *Cāḍāl*: *Caṇḍālāḥ*.

ḍ. 414. *ṇṭ*: *dāṇṭ* m. "tooth"; *daṇṭaḥ* s.; *kāṇṭ* "beloved"; *kāṇṭaḥ* s.; *sāṇṭ* m. "saint"; *śrāṇṭaḥ* "at peace"; *ḍāṇṭi* f. "entrails"; *ḍrō* m. "division"; *antaṇṭaḥ* "inside, of different form"; *vāṇṭarvā* "to cut through"; *vyāṇṭaram* "difference"; *tāṇṭ* f. "thread"; *taṇṭuḥ* m. s.; *āṇṭvā* "to be finished"; *śāṇṭaḥ* "appeased".

*nṭh*: *gāṇṭh* f. "knot"; *graṇṭhaḥ* s.

*ṇḍ*: *kāḍō* m. "onion"; *kaṇḍaḥ* "a bulbous root"; *phāḍō* "deceit"; *ṣpaṇḍaḥ* "rapid motion, \*sickleness"; *cāḍ* m. "moon"; *craṇḍraḥ* s.; *khāḍra* "to trample on". fr. \**kṣuṇḍati*: *kṣuṇṭati* s.

*nḍh*: *āḍhī* f. "dust-storm"; *andhikā* "night"; *khāḍh* f. "shoulder"; *skandhaḥ* s.; *gāḍhī* m. "druggist"; *gaṇḍhikāḥ* s.; *bāḍh* m. "dam"; *bandhaḥ* s.; *sāḍh* f. "joint"; *sandhiḥ* f. "connexion"; *raḍhvā* "to block up"; *rundhati* "to hinder"; *āḍh* f. "evening"; *sandhyā* "twilight"; *vāḍh* "barren"; *vandhyaḥ* s.



6. 415. *mp*: *kṛp* f. "shivering": *kampah* s.; *ōpā* n. "jack-fruit": *campakah* s.; *līpva* "to smear", *līpva* n. "smearing with cowdung": *limpati*, *limpanam* s.

*mb*: *lābō* "tall": *lambah* s.; *kābḷō* m. "blanket": *kambalah* s.; *jābū* f. "rose-apple": *jāmbah* s.; *ābī* f. "ear of corn": *umbikā* "fried stalks of wheat". Finally this nasalized long vowel + *b* becomes long vowel + *m*: *ām* f. "head of a pestle" fr. *āb sambō sambah* s. (cf. *ābbel* f. "iron nail at the end of the yoke"); *lām* f. "bunch of fruit": HD. *luṃbi* "bunch". This is probably a sandhi change (cf. -*ñ* fr. -*ṇg*, see 6. 411) originally only taking place before consonants and at the end of a word group. Hence we find the doublet *ām* and *āb* "from ring fixed at the end of a stick", both from *sambah*.

*mbh*: *kābh* m. "pot", *kābhār* m. "potter": *kumbhah*, *kumbhakārah* s.; *lābhā* n. "lottery": *lambhah* "obtaining"; *ābharva* "to collect". *sambharati* s.; *gūbhār* "grave". *gumbhiraḥ* "deep-sounding". *kham* m. "pillar" *skumbhuh* (also *khābh* m. s.) rests probably on the form \**khāb*.

6. 416. *hm* becomes *mh*, *mbh*, which falls together with PI. *mbh*: *abābh* n. "violation of celibacy" fr. \**abrahma-* (cf. *abrahmacaryam* with the same meaning) with change of accent to the first syllable.

6. 417. *ṇā*, *ṇa*: *vāḥ* m. "bamboo": *vamśah* s., *vāsa* m. "doubt": *vamśayāḥ* s., *ḡḡaro* "tall": *pramśuh* s., *kand* n.pl. "cymbals": *kumśyam* "bell-metal".

6. 42. In post-accentual syllables (due to secondary accent changes, see 5) the vowel loses its nasality. Present participle -*to* fr. -*ato* \**-antakah*, e.g. *prachto* fr. \**prēchantakah*: *prēchant-*, etc. The accent was shifted from -*ant-* (which would have given \**prachāto*) to the root syllable. *ḡacda* "50" fr. \**ḡāda*, *ḡācāḡat* after *ēkḡacda* "51", etc. *kudār* m. "road" fr. \**kūda* s. a loan-word (cf. H. *kūda*).

6. 5. The normal development of sibilant + nasal seems to be to nasal + *h*: the *h* falls together with Pl. *h* and Pkt. *h*, and is liable to disappear, particularly in uneducated speech. The treatment of sibilant + *m* is uncertain (see 6. 52).

6. 51. *ṣṣ*, *ṣn*, Ś. *ṣh*, G. *nh* or *n*, before which a short vowel appears to be lengthened, when *h* is dropped.

6. 511. *ṣṣ*: *unhō* or *unō* "hot": *uṣṣaḥ* s.; *un(h)ālo* m. "hot season": *uṣṣakālaḥ* s.

6. 512. *ṣn*: *nāva* or *nāva* "to bathe", *nāḥa* n. "ceremonial bath"; *ṣulī*, *ṣudnam* s.; *nēh* m. "love" fr. \**nēhu*: *ṣuṇaḥ* s.; *pānō* m. "flow of milk into the udder": *prasaṇaḥ* "flow".

6. 52. The examples of Pl. *śm*, *ṣm*, *sm* in (i. are not numerous enough to provide a sure description of their history. In the Pkt. dialects (see Pischel, pp. 215 ff.) *śn*, *sn*, *sn*, except when an anaptyctic vowel was developed between the sibilant and nasal, seem universally to have become *nh*. But for *śm*, *ṣm*, *sm*, although most examples show *mh*, there are traces of two other developments: (1) *ss*, e.g. Ś. *Mahissatī* fr. *Mahīsmatī*, Mg. *śaśīṣṣi* fr. *śaśmīn* (but *-smā* always becomes *-mha*): (2) *pph*, e.g. *bhippha-* fr. *bhīṣma-*, *ṣeppha-* fr. *śeṣma-* (as well as *śilimha-*, *śembha-*).

6. 521. Corresponding to these in (i. we find *rās* f. "reins": *raśmīḥ* f. s.; and *āṣṣ* f. "warmth": *uṣmaṇ-* m. "heat" (nom. sing. *uṣmā*, i.e. feminine in form). Supposing *mh* fr. *sm* to be voiceless, then the development to *ṣṣh* is parallel with that of *mh* (voiced fr. Pl. *hm*) to *mhh* (see 6. 416).

6. 522. Of *m* fr. *mh* (fr. *sm*) we have examples only in two unaccented words: *tamē* "you": RV. *yusmē* (with *t-* after the singular, and *-a-* perhaps fr. *amē* "we"); *amē* "we": RV. *aśmē* s. The retention of the final *ē* is due in both cases to the monosyllabic forms of the sing. *mē* *tā*.

# THE PRESENT NASAL SCHEME IN GUJRATI

7. The origin of the present Gujarati scheme of nasals as far as tadbhava words are concerned is, then, as follows:—

$m <$	$m$ - 2. 2	$\bar{p} <$	$\bar{p}$ 3. 1
	$-m$ - 3. 31, 3. 33		$-n$ - 3. 2
	$pn$ 6. 132		
	$mm$ 6. 23	$\bar{n} <$	$\bar{a}g$ 6. 411
	$rm$ 6. 312		
	$lm$ 6. 313		
	$my$ 6. 323		
	$mr$ 6. 331		
	$\bar{m}$ 6. 523		$-m$ - 3. 32
	$sm$ 6. 522		$-m$ 4. 12
	$mb$ 6. 415		$-n$ 4. 2
$n <$	$n$ - 2. 1		$-dm$ 5. 11
	$ja$ 6. 12		$-dma$ 5. 12
	$pa$ 6. 21		$-ana$ 5. 21
	$na$ 6. 22		$-ena$ 5. 22
	$\bar{p}a$ 6. 311		$-ina$ 5. 23
	$ny$ 6. 321	$- <$	nasal + stop 6. 1
	$ny$ 6. 322		$hm$ 6. 416
	$pn$ 6. 511		nasal + sibilant 6. 1
	$sn$ 6. 512		$sm$ 6. 52
			$mr$ 6. 331
			$ml$ 6. 332

### III

## NOTES ON DR. LIONEL GILES' ARTICLE ON "TUN HUANG LU"

By SUH HU

**F**OR the sake of clearness I have grouped my discussions under four separate headings, namely: (I) Punctuations, (II) Misreadings of the Chinese Text, (III) Errors in the Text itself, and (IV) Other discussions.

### I. Punctuations

It appears to me that Dr Giles had great difficulty in punctuating the Chinese MS. As he has pointed out in his article (p. 704), the punctuation is omitted in nearly all Chinese MSS, and it is only natural that a foreign reader should find it not easy to supply. I submit my opinion on the following passages:—

1. Page 7, cols. 1-2 of the text (p. 726 of the Journal).—

*Dr Giles' reading*

有 而 古  
甘 祠 號  
泉 焉 鳴  
近 神  
南 沙。

*My reading*

有 而 古  
甘 祠 號  
泉 焉 鳴  
近 神  
南 沙

The English version: "The ancients called it Sounding Sand. They deified (or, wondered at, 神) the sand and worshipped (祠) it there (焉). Near by to the south is Kan-ch'uan."

*Note*—The word 神 is here used as a verb. Dr. Giles' reading 而 祠 焉 近 is an impossible combination. 近 (near by) should go with the next sentence.

2. P. 10, cols. 4-6—

*Dr. Giles' reading*

*My reading*

手 生  
而 離  
沒 兒  
神 女  
龍 爲  
中。 神  
刻 所  
史 錄 父  
張 歡 母  
孝 然 離  
嵩 携 苦

手 生  
而 離。  
沒。 兒  
神 女  
龍 爲  
中。 神  
刻 所  
史 錄。 父  
張 歡 母  
孝 然 離  
嵩 携 苦

"Although the parents were distressed at thus 'parting alive', the boy and the girl, having been chosen by the spirit, cheerfully took each other's hand and drowned themselves. In the *Shên-lung* period (A.D. 705-6) the Governor ('Huang Hsiao-sung,' etc. (Cf. Dr. Giles' version on p. 719.)

*Note.*—生 離 ("parting alive") is a very common expression meaning "parting of persons with no hope to see each other again". It is often used together with 死 別 or "parting at death". 兒 女 is the subject of the second clause. 神 龍 is the name of the first two years of the Emperor 中 宗 after his restoration to the throne. Evidently a few years must have elapsed between Chang's appointment to the governorship and his killing of the demon. The latter event occurred in the reign of 玄 宗.

3. P. 11, col. 3—

*Dr. Giles' reading*

化 曰。  
爲 願  
一 見  
龍。 本  
身。  
欲  
親  
享  
神。  
乃

*My reading*

化 曰。  
爲 願  
一 見  
龍。 本  
身。  
欲  
親  
享  
神  
乃

*Note* — 神 is the subject of the verb 化, not the object of the verb 享.

4 P 12 col. 1 - -

*Dr. Giles' reading*

氏 物  
編 號  
在 龍  
簡 舌。  
書。 張

*My reading*

氏。 刻  
編 號  
在 龍  
簡 舌  
書。 張

"(And) decreed that he should receive the title of *Lung-shé Chang* (*Chung* of the Dragon-tongue). This is recorded in the official records."

*Note.* — 簡 書 always means official records. The last sentence, 編 在 簡 書, concludes and authenticates the whole story.

## 5. P. 12, cols. 2-3 —

*Dr. Giles' reading*

小 郡  
堡。 城  
西  
北  
一  
里。  
有  
寺  
古  
木  
陰  
森  
中  
有

*My reading*

小 郡  
堡。 城  
西  
北  
一  
里。  
有  
寺。  
古  
木  
陰  
森  
中。  
有

"One *li* north-west of the city there is a monastery  
Shaded among the old trees is a small fort"

*Note.* — This error of Dr Giles' is almost unpardonable  
as the passage is so evident

II. *Misreadings of the Chinese Text*

## 1. P. 1, col. 5 -

汝 should read 以 (with), not 次. Dr Giles' English  
translation, however, is correct on this point

## 2. P. 7, col. 4 -

洩 should read 沃 (to water), not 洩 Cf. p 11 col. 2  
where the characters 魃 怪 should read 妖 怪 (which  
is a very common compound for 'demons').

*Note.* — The writer, or, perhaps more correctly speaking,  
the copyist, had a fanciful way of writing such characters  
as 天, and 犬; cf. the character 獸 on p. 13, col. 2.

## 3. P. 11, col. 2—

害 should read 害 (to damage), not 害.

III. *Errors in the Text itself*

## 1. P. 10, col. 2: 人傳頗有虛.

虛 should read 虛.

## 2. P. 14, col. 4—

The character which Dr. Giles left blank is no word at all. The copyist, it seems to me, wrote 雪, and by mistake added two superfluous strokes at the bottom. So he crossed it out by the sign 乚 and wrote another 雪.

IV. *Other discussions*

## 1. P. 2, col. 1—

The "walking radical" 辵 has not been omitted here. Dr. Giles failed to recognize the "grassy" or cursive form of 辵.

## 2. P. 6, col. 1—

Dr. Giles made a very hazardous statement when he determined the date of the manuscript on the ground that a stroke or two appeared to have been purposely omitted in the character 純. I disagree with his supposition for the following reasons:—

First, no stroke has been omitted in this character 純.

Secondly, strokes have been omitted in many other words. The copyist, being evidently an unlearned man, was very free in omitting strokes. The most apparent omissions are, for example, 昌 on p. 7, col. 3; 害 on p. 11, col. 2; 鳥 on p. 13, cols. 4 and 5. Shall we also deduce dates from these seemingly intentional omissions?





#### IV

### THE TUN HUANG LU RE-TRANSLATED

By LIONEL GILES

**I** FEEL very grateful to Mr. Suh Hu for having read my article with such care, and for having pointed out some undoubted mistakes. Unfortunately, there are others that have escaped him, but which have been brought to my notice by my father, Professor Herbert A. Giles, and other scholars, to whom I also tender hearty thanks. In the light of these corrections it seems desirable that a revised translation of the whole text should now be published.

• • • • •

The town of Hsiao-ku [Toil-for-corn] was originally Page 1.  
Yu-tsé [Fishing-pool]. In the time of Hsiao [Wu] T'i of the Han dynasty Ts'ui Pu-i taught the people to labour in the fields and grow corn, whence the name. Later on it was made a district city (*hsien*).

The Érh-shih spring is three days' journey eastward from the town of Sha-chou. In the Han period Li Kuang-li's army when on the march was suffering greatly from thirst. Having prayed to the spirit of the mountain, he pricked the mountain-side with his sword, whereupon a stream of water gushed out and flowed away to the west for several tens of *li* into the Huang-ts'ao [Yellow Grass] Lake. At a later date there was a general who Page 2.  
drank of the water when he was very thirsty, which caused him to fall dead beside the spring. In consequence of this the water ceased to flow, only rising up to the level of the ground. Ever afterwards, when many people came to drink, the flow of water was abundant; when few came the supply was scanty; if there was a great

multitude from the city, which consumed large quantities, the water poured forth in a tumultuous stream; and these phenomena continue down to the present day.

**Page 3.** The Êrh-shih temple, which stood by the roadside, has long been in ruins. Stones from it have been piled up together,<sup>1</sup> and to this spot travellers come with their camels and horses in order to pray for good luck. Going east, you pass into the territory of Kua-chou.

South of the city of Sha-chou, at a distance of 25 li, are the Mo-kao caves. The way thither takes you through a stony desert with undulating ground, and when you reach your destination there is a sharp descent into a valley. To the east of this point stands the San-wei Mountain, to the west the Hill of Sounding Sand. In between there is a stream flowing from the south, called the Tang-ch'uan [Tunnel-spring].

**Page 4.** In this valley there is a vast number of old Buddhist temples and priests' quarters; there are also some huge bells. At both ends of the valley, north and south, stand temples to the Rulers of the Heavens, and a number of shrines to other gods; the walls are painted with pictures of the Tibetan kings and their retinues.

**Page 5.** The whole of the western face of the cliff for a distance of 2 li, north and south, has been hewn and chiselled out into a number of lofty and spacious sand-caves containing images and paintings of Buddha. Reckoning cave by cave, the amount of money lavished on them must have been enormous. In front of them pavilions have been erected in several tiers, one above another. Some of the temples contain colossal images rising to a height of 160 feet, and the number of smaller shrines is past counting. All<sup>2</sup> are connected with one another by

<sup>1</sup> 𡵓 is to be taken in its ordinary sense of "bringing close together". It is thus practically synonymous with 𡵓.

<sup>2</sup> My conjecture of 𡵓 is confirmed by Professor E. H. Parker, who says that it is quite the ordinary "grate".

galleries,<sup>1</sup> convenient for the purpose of ceremonial rounds as well as casual sight-seeing.

On the hill to the south of this there is a spot where the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin once made herself visible. Whenever people from the city go to visit it they make the journey on foot, both going and returning; that is the way in which they express their reverence.

The Hill of Sounding Sand is 10 *li* away from the city. It stretches 80 *li* east and west, and 40 *li* north and south,<sup>2</sup> and it reaches a height of 500 feet in places. The whole mass is made up entirely of pure<sup>3</sup> sand. This hill has strange supernatural qualities. Its peak<sup>4</sup> taper up to

<sup>1</sup> My father is of opinion that the Chinese 悉有虛雲通達 cannot yield the meaning which I adopted first, namely, "all are freely accessible from the outside." On the other hand, I have ascertained from M. Pelliot that there is no internal communication between the grottoes themselves. His letter, however, which reached me just too late for insertion in the original article, suggests the true solution of the difficulty. "Pour la question que vous me posez, il va sans dire que j'ai sur l'aménagement des grottes de Touen houang des souvenirs visuels et documentaires fort précis. Il y a plusieurs centaines de grottes et il n'y a pas de passage intérieur de l'une à l'autre. Mais pour les grottes qui n'étaient pas au niveau même du sol, beaucoup étaient réunies par des galeries, des balcons parfois couverts et dont certains subsistent, vous en avez probablement des spécimens dans certaines des photographies de Stein. Presque tous les balcons subsistants sont très anciens, il en est du x<sup>e</sup> siècle."

<sup>2</sup> The two characters 十 "ten" should, I think, be deleted, which would reduce the hill to the more reasonable proportions of 8 x 4 *li*.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot quite accept Mr. Hu's assertion (iv, 2) that no stroke has been omitted in 純. That at least one stroke is wanting seems to me as plain as a yoke-staff. But I am inclined now to believe that the character was so written simply as a semi-cursive form, and not because it was taboo.

<sup>4</sup> There are two reasons, according to my father, why 巒 must be plural here. (1) the natural meaning of 巒 is "among" or "in between", as seen in 石巒, p. 13, col. 4; (2) the words 曾讀高巒, just below, can only mean "all clamber up some high peak" (not "to the summit"), implying that there is more than one. The latter argument seems pretty conclusive; but as regards my former rendering of 巒 (on the hill), I can point to a similar use of the word in the *Liao Chai*, Tan Ming-lan's edition, chüan 1, f. 10 v°, col. 6: 師乃剪紙如鏡帖壁巒 "the old priest took some scissors and cut out a circular piece of paper like a mirror, which he proceeded to stick on the wall".

a point,<sup>1</sup> and between them there is a mysterious hole<sup>2</sup> which the sand has not been able to cover up. In the height of summer the sand gives out sounds of itself, and if trodden by men or horses the noise is heard many tens of *li* away. It is customary on the *tuan-wu* day (the Dragon festival on the fifth of the fifth moon) for men and women from the city to clamber up to some of the highest points and rush down again in a body, which causes the sand to give forth a loud rumbling sound like thunder. Yet when you come to look at it the next morning the hill is found to be just as steep as before. The ancients called this hill the Sounding Sand; they deified the sand and worshipped it there.<sup>3</sup>

Page 7.

Near by, to the south, is the Kan-ch'uan River. Tracing it southward from the Hill of Sand, we find its original source to be in the Great Snowy Mountains (the Nan-shan range). It enters the Tun-huang district through the territory of Shou-ch'ang hsien in the south-west. On account of its fertilizing properties it is commonly called Kan-ch'uan [Sweet-spring].

The Chin-an [Golden Saddle] Mountain is situated to

<sup>1</sup> 如削 is evidently a stock phrase for tapering mountain peaks. I have just come across it again in the preface to 重陽庵集.

<sup>2</sup> The word 井, as my father points out, can hardly be a well here, though the *Siku ch'ien* has the gloss 泉. It is simply a mysterious hole, such as our mediaeval writers have termed a *cunna diabolica*.

<sup>3</sup> I have adopted Mr. Hu's correction (1, 1), but though he is doubtless right in saying that 嗣 is a verb, and that 焉 closes the sentence, I do not feel quite so certain about 神. It is a fact that the name 神沙 "spiritual sand" was applied to the hill. See *Fu Ch'ang I T'ung Chih*, ch. 170, fol. 4 r., col. 1. 鳴沙山一名神沙山. Professor Parker has also pointed out my mistake with regard to 焉, but he goes on to say "I don't think it will be possible to find anywhere, at any date, an example of *yen* being followed by anything but a 虛字, and (as I showed) it seems always to be the French *en* or *y*." In reply, I must confront him with his own words in the *China Review*, vol. xxiv, p. 280: "Finally, *yen* occurs in a medial position between two parts of one idea. . . . For instance, 無人焉能止之 'and [they said] there was no one to prevent him': *senarius quidem preventurum Yen* here has the force of *quidem*."

the south-west of the Hill of Sand. It has snow on it Page 8.  
throughout the summer. There is a shrine there of high  
spiritual potency which people dare not approach. Every  
year the local chief sacrifices to the god of the mountain  
with his face turned in that direction, and offers up a fine  
horse, which he drives into the recesses of the mountain.  
But if he ventures too near he immediately provokes  
a destructive hail-storm, with thunder and lightning.

South-west of the city stands the Li Hsien-wang  
temple, that is to say, a temple dedicated to the ancestors  
of Chao Wang of the Western Liang State. In the  
*Chien t'ung* period (A.D. 666-8) a lucky stone was picked Page 9.  
up close beside this temple. its colour was bluish-green,  
and it bore a red inscription in the ancient character, to  
wit: 'I can foretell thirty generations, I can foretell 700  
years' To-day this temple is known as the "Li temple"

West of the city is the Yang Barrier, which is the  
same as the ancient Yu-mên (Jade Gate) Barrier. It was  
because Yang Ming, when Governor of Sha-chou, resisted  
an Imperial warrant for his arrest and fled over the  
border by this gate, that it afterwards came to be known  
as the Yang Barrier. It connects China with the capital  
of Shan-shan but the natural obstacles of the route and  
its deficiency in water and vegetation make it difficult  
to traverse. The frontier-gate was afterwards shifted to Page 10.  
the east of Sha-chou.

Eighty-five li west of the city is the Yu-nü [Beautiful  
Woman] Spring. The stories that have been handed  
down about it are largely fictitious<sup>1</sup>. Every year a youth  
and a maiden used to be conducted to this spot by the  
people of the district and sacrificed together<sup>2</sup> to the spirit

<sup>1</sup> 璽. the reading proposed by Mr. Hu (in, 1), appears to me a  
doubtful and unnecessary conjecture. In any case, I have to deal with  
the text as it stands, and there can be no doubt that the character  
written by the copyist is 璽. It is used again in the same figurative  
sense on p. 13, col. 8.

<sup>2</sup> I have now come to the conclusion that the character which I first  
took to be 璽 is really 璽.

of the pool. This ensured a plentiful harvest, but if the ceremony was omitted the crops were spoilt. Although the parents were bitterly distressed at having their children thus torn from them, the boy and girl who had been chosen by the spirit would cheerfully take each other by the hand and drown themselves.

- Page 11.** In the *shên-lung*<sup>1</sup> period (A.D. 705-8) the Governor Chang Hsiao-sung on arriving at his post made inquiries about this custom from the inhabitants of the district. They gave him particulars, whereupon the Governor exclaimed in anger: "I won't have this bogey in the fountain injuring us with its miraculous tricks!"<sup>2</sup> So he had an altar erected, and sacrificial victims prepared alongside the spring. Then he called out: "I prithee reveal<sup>3</sup> thy true form, that I may sacrifice to thee in person." The spirit forthwith changed into a dragon and came out of the water, whereupon the Governor drew his bow<sup>4</sup> and shot the creature in the throat; then he whipped out his sword and cut off its head. This, on a subsequent visit to the Palace, he presented to the Emperor, Hsuan Tsung, who showed great admiration for his exploit and graciously bestowed on him the tongue of the dragon, with a decree that he should receive the title of *Lung-shê Chung Shih* (Mr. Chang of the Dragon's tongue). This is entered in the official records.
- Page 12.** One *li* north-west of the district city there is a monastery and a thick clump of old trees.<sup>5</sup> Hidden amongst them is

<sup>1</sup> It is an almost diabolical coincidence, from the translator's point of view, that this spirit dragon (*shên lung*) should have been slain in precisely the *shên-lung* period.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Parker also suggests 書 instead of 客, and takes exception to my statement that 怪 is a vulgar form of 怪; but my authority is K'ang Hu's Dictionary, which further states that this form was originally a variant arbitrarily introduced into the "clerkly style" of handwriting by 顏真卿 Yen Chên ch'ing (A.D. 709-85).

<sup>3</sup> My father points out that 見 is in this context not *chien* 'but *chien* '.

<sup>4</sup> More literally, "and [an arrow] on the string."

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Hu (i, 5) is very severe on my punctuation here, although the sense of the passage remains unaffected. Indeed, in the English it is

a mound on the top of which is erected a miniature palace, complete in every part

There was formerly a sub-prefect of Sha-chou, one Chang Ch'iu, who, when already advanced in years, took a fancy to the spot and settled down to live there. Although not a man of wide scholarship, he was exceedingly earnest and painstaking, for after the country had passed through many years of revolution, and but few men were left to practise the instructor's calling, he collected the younger generation together in order to expound to them the great principles of government. But God could not spare him long for the people to enjoy his bounty. Page 13.

The Alabaster Mountains are 256 *li* to the north of the city. The alabaster is found among the rocks on the Wu [Black] and the Fêng [Beacon] Mountains. In the 10th year of *k'ai-huang* (A.D. 590) the Black Mountain turned white. The fact has been verified and found to be no empty fable. The Taoist monk Huang-fu Tê-tsung and others, seven in all, were sent there to make sacrifices and libations. And ever since then the mountain has had all the appearance of being a snow-covered peak. Page 14.

The town of Ho-t'ang is 230 *li* north-west of the city. In ancient times a military magazine stood here.

The Great Wall, built<sup>1</sup> under the former Han dynasty, passes 63 *li* to the north of the city<sup>2</sup> and runs due west out into the desert.

Going north, you enter the territory of I-chou [Hami].

better to put the stop after "trees", which in Mr. Hu's version seem to spring from nowhere. Much more important is the fact, noted by my father, that 塚 is here "a mound" and not "a fort".

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hu has certainly solved the difficulty here (iii, 2). I had already received the same correction from Mr. Edmund Backhouse, of Peking, who has had considerable experience of Chinese MSS. "How often," he says, "have I been rebuked by scholars for scratching a character out instead of keeping the page tidy by re-writing it and adding the 1 to show that the wrongly written one was to be passed over."

<sup>2</sup> Omitting the characters 北 and placing a stop after 北.





## THE ARCHIVES OF AN ORACLE

By L. C. HOPKINS

**M**EAGRE and disappointing as it seems, the collection of phrases and sentences that follows has been extorted from the nearly nine hundred specimens of inscribed bone and horn fragments in my possession only after close study during six years. Whether the result is worth the work and the time, it is useless now to ask. But such as they are, I have desired to put before other workers the deciphered extracts from these unusual records for two reasons. The first is that I seem to have reached the limit attainable by my own individual efforts. The second and especial reason is that if other students of Chinese would consent to devote some attention to the texts now presented and translated, I am confident that numerous difficulties would be cleared up, not a few fruitful suggestions elicited, and—it would be too foolish to think otherwise—various errors and ignorances exposed. If all or any of these consequences should follow, much needed light would fall on dark places, and some misty uncertainties be dissipated. I feel fairly convinced that there are things of real interest concealed in the legends on these objects, and I suspect also some surprises.

In the following number of this Journal I hope to publish some Notes on the passages now presented, together with a Plate of facsimile copies of the original texts, of which the modern counterparts are given below. The want of corresponding facsimiles has detracted from the value of the list of similar extracts which filled the last pages of Mr. Lo Chên-yü's admirable pamphlet *Yin-Shang Chêng Fu Wên Tsü K'ao*, "An Examination of the Characters used in Divination in the Yin-Shang Dynasty."

JAN. 1916.

## PHRASES OF TWO WORDS

1. 安喜 *an hsi*, content and happiness.
2. 安樂 *an lo*, content and joy.
3. 長生 *ch'ang shêng*, long life.
4. 正月 *chêng yüeh*, the 1st month.
5. 吉祥 *chi hsiang*, good fortune.
6. 吉日 *chi jih*, a lucky day.
7. 吉盤 *chi pi*, a lucky disk.
8. 吉魚 *chi yü*, a lucky fish (i.e. a cowrie).
9. 今日 *chin jih*, to-day.
10. 今月 *chin yueh*, this month.
11. 降吉 *chiang chi*, to send down good luck.
12. 降福 *chiang fu*, to send down happiness.
13. 降祥 *chiang hsiang*, to send down good fortune.
14. 中壽 *chung li*, in the centre.
15. 中宗 *chung tsung*, the Temple-name of the Emperor Tai Mou of the Shang dynasty, reigned 1637-1562 B.C.
16. 福靜 *fu ching*, happiness and peace.
17. 福喜 *fu hsi*, happiness and joy.
18. 福祥 *fu hsiang*, happiness and good fortune.
19. 福壽 *fu shou*, happiness and long life.
20. 西臺 *hai li*, in the West.
21. 西陵 *hai ling*, the Western Passes. (Said to be also an ancient tribal name, see Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, vol. i, p. 34, n. 4.)
22. 祥吉 *hsiung chi*, good fortune.
23. 祥日 *hsiung jih*, a fortunate day
24. 祥盤 *hsiung pi*, a fortunate disk
25. 行龍 *hang lung* the moving, or soaring, dragon
- 25a. 小牢 *hsiao lao* the lesser sacrifice
26. 日月 *jih yueh*, sun and moon
27. 來祥 *lai hsiang*, to bring good fortune to one's sake.
28. 靈鐘 *ling chung* a magic bell
29. 靈圭 *ling kuei*, a magic tablet

30. 靈龜 *ling kuei*, a magic tortoise.
31. 靈璧 *ling pi*, a magic disk.
32. 靈魚 *ling yü*, a magic fish (viz. a cowrie).
33. 樂喜 *lo hsi*, mirth and joy.
34. 龍璧 *lung pi*, a dragon disk.
35. 卯牢 *mao lao*, a male victim for sacrifice.
36. 卯牛 *mao nuu*, a bull.
37. 南夏 *nan li*, in the south.
38. 年吉 *nien chi*, harvest favourable.
39. 北夏 *pei li*, in the north.
40. 白豕 *pai shih*, a white pig.
41. 三酎 *san ch'ou*, trebly distilled spirit.
42. 三光 *san Kuang*, the Three Lights (Sun, Moon, and Planets).
43. 上天 *shang t'ien*, Heaven above.
44. 盛德 *shêng té*, abundant virtue.
45. 聖德 *shêng té*, sacred virtue.
46. 受年 *shou nien*, the year's harvest.
47. 孫子 *sun tzü*, grandsons and sons.
48. 大吉 *ta chi*, great luck.
49. 大解 *ta haiang*, great fortune.
50. 大牢 *ta lao*, the greater sacrifice.
51. 大室 *ta shih*, the principal apartment of the ancestral temple, modern 太室 *tai shih*.
52. 大廟 *ta teung*, the ancestral temple.
53. 大陰 *ta yin*, the great feminine, probably the moon.
54. 大月 *ta yueh*, probably for 大悅 *ta yueh*, great joy.
55. 大雨 *ta yü*, heavy rain.
56. 得吉 *té chi*, may he have good luck.
57. 得祥 *té hsiang*, may he have good fortune.
58. 得祿 *té lu*, may he have prosperity.
59. 多吉 *to chi*, much good luck.
60. 多祥 *to hsiang*, much good fortune.
61. 多利 *to li*, much benefit.
62. 多福 *to fu*, much happiness.

63. 多孫 *to sun*, many grandsons.
64. 多子 *to tzu*, many sons.
65. 千吉 *ts'ien chi*, a thousand-fold good luck.
66. 靜陽 *tsing yang*, perhaps for 青陽, the "pure masculine"; a term for the Sun.
67. 左裏 *tsao li*, on the left.
68. 作龜 *tsao kuei*, to scorch the tortoise-shell.
69. 彤日 *tung jih*, the day of the supplementary sacrifice.
70. 東裏 *tung li*, in the east.
71. 望幸 *wang hsing*, an Imperial visit.
72. 文圭 *wén kuei*, a decorative tablet.
73. 文陸 *wén pi*, a decorative disk.
74. 亡艱 *wu chien*, no difficulties.
75. 亡悔 *wu hui*, no regret.
76. 亡災 *wu tsai*, no calamity.
77. 陰陽 *yin yang*, the feminine and the masculine.
78. 右裏 *yu li*, on the right.
79. 元吉 *yuan chi*, prime good luck.
80. 元祥 *yuan hsiauy*, prime good fortune.
81. 月吉 *yueh chi*, the moon lucky (or auspicious).
82. 月祥 *yueh hsiauy*, the moon fortunate (or auspicious).
83. 月陸 *yueh pi*, a moon disk.
84. 月德 *yueh té*, the virtue or influence of the moon.
85. 永吉 *yung chi*, perpetual good luck.
86. 永年 *yung nen*, years without end.

#### PHRASES OF THREE AND FOUR WORDS

87. 吉日作龜 *chi jih tsao kuei*, on a lucky day scorched the tortoise-shell.
88. 日在寅 *jih tsai Yin*, the sun being in Yin.
89. 旅行多寧 *lü hsing to ning*, a journey with much tranquillity.
90. 保其至吉 *pao ch'i chih chi*, keep him in the utmost welfare.
91. 保其福田 *pao ch'i fu tien*, preserve his field of happiness.

92. 不遇大雨 *pu kou ta yü*, not to encounter heavy rain.
93. 得福安樂 *té fu an lo*, may he have happiness, ease, and joy.
94. 多慶祥 *to ch'ing hsiang*, many happy events!
95. 多福祥 *to fu hsiang*, much prosperity.
96. 七月元日 *ts'i yueh yuan jih*, the 1st day of the 7th moon.
97. 子孫萬年 *tsü sun wan nien*, posterity in perpetuity.
98. 子孫延年 *tsü sun yen nien* posterity for many ages.
99. 子孫永用 *tsü sun yung yung*, for the perpetual use of his sons and grandsons.
100. 王卜貞 *wang pu ch'eng*, the king consulted the oracle by the tortoise-shell.
101. 延慶祥 *yen ch'ing hsiang*, continual happiness.
102. 延福祥 *yen fu hsiang*, continual prosperity.
103. 延年得慶祥 *yen nien té ch'ing hsiang*, having happiness for many long years.
104. 于西山 *yu hai shan*, in, or to, the western hills.
105. 月吉日祥 *yueh chi jih hsiang*, the moon lucky, the sun auspicious.

## SENTENCES

106. 示其獲鹿 *shih ch'i huo lu*. Foretells the capture of deer.
107. 田射萬鹿 *tien shé wan lu*. May he chase and shoot a myriad deer.
108. 九月吉日作龜來祥今日雨至 *ch'u yueh chi jih tzu kuei lai hsiang chin jih yü chih*. In the ninth moon on a lucky day scorched the tortoise for luck's sake. To-day rain will come.
109. 其曰王射萬鹿祥 *ch'i yueh wang shé wan lu hsiang*. The [omen] says the king's shooting will be altogether fortunate.

110. 今日雨來月吉 *chín jih yü lai yueh chi*. To-day rain will fall and the coming month will be lucky. [Or perhaps, may to-day's rain bring in a lucky month.]
111. 戊申卜貞王徙于邵往來無災 *mou-shén pu chéng wang hai yü Shao wang lai wu tsai*. On the day *mou-shén* took an omen as to the king moving to Shao: nothing harmful in going or returning.
112. 丁亥卜貞王徙往來無災 *tíng hai pu chéng wang hai wang lai wu tsai*. On the day *tíng-hai* took an omen as to the king moving: nothing harmful in going or returning.
113. 壬午卜貞王田往來無災 *jén wu pu chéng wang tien wang lai wu tsai*. On the day *jén-wu* took an omen as to the king hunting: nothing harmful in going or returning.
114. 戊申卜 • 貞 • 作大邑于 [text broken off]. *mou shén pu —chéng—tsò tsü i yü*. On the day *mou-shén* took an omen as to building a large city in . . .
115. 自今至于辛亥雨 *tzu chin chih yü hsín hai yü*. From to-day until the day *hsín-hai* it will rain.
116. 今日示其雨 *chín jih shih ch'í yu*. To-day the indications are for rain.
117. 辛卯卜貞王徙于京往來無災 *hsin mau pu chéng wang hai yü ching wang lai wu tsai*. On the day *hsin-mau* took an omen as to the king moving to the capital: nothing harmful in going or returning.
118. 戊子卜貞王徙于陞往來 *mou tsü pu chéng wang hai yü yung wang lai* [the usual *wu tsai*, "nothing harmful," is omitted]. On the day *mou-tsü* took an omen as to the king moving to Yung: in going or returning . . .

119. 乙未卜貞自武乙三日 *i wei pu chéng tsü wu i san jih*. On the day *i-wei* took omens from Wu I for three days . . .
120. 受有五牢 *shou yu wu lao*. Received five sacrificial victims.
121. 王卜貞田秬往[來無]災王 \* 曰吉茲記獲隹二百十五雉一雉二 *wang pu chéng tien ling wang [lai wu] tsai wang -- yueh chi tsü chi huo chui erh po shih wu t'u i chih erh*. The king took an omen as to hunting in Ling: [nothing] harmful in going [or returning]. The king's -- said good luck. It is now noted that there were captured small birds 215, hare 1, pheasants 2.
122. 癸酉卜行貞 *kuei yu pu hsing chéng*. On the day *kuei-yu* took an omen as to a journey.
123. 己丑卜疑貞今月無 *chi ch'ou pu i chéng chin yueh wu . . .* On the day *chi-ch'ou* took an omen as to a doubtful matter. This month there will be no [text here broken off].
124. 戊申卜旅貞 *mou shén pu lü chéng*. On the day *mou-shén* took an omen as to an expedition.
125. 貞五牢 *chéng wu lao*. Took omens from five victims. [Presumably from the bones of these beasts after slaughtering them for sacrifice.]
126. 庚午卜貞今月無凶 *kéng wu pu chéng chin yueh wu hsiung*. On the day *kéng-wu* took an omen. This month there will be nothing untoward. [Same sentence with different cycle characters on H. 69.]
127. 戊亥王卜 *mou hai wang pu*. On the day *mou-hai* the king took an omen. [Sentence complete, no other characters.]
128. 自上田行至于麓無 \* *tsü shang t'ien hsing chih yü yü wu --*. From Shang Tien travelling as far as Yü [in Honan] there will be no --.



[The unknown character probably stands for some such word as "untoward".]

129. 乙酉卜旅貞王其田于。往來無災在一月  
*i yu pu lü chéng wang ch'i tien yü—wang lai wu tsai tsai i yueh.* On the day *i-yu* took an omen as to an expedition. The king will hunt in [here follows a blank space in the original]. No mishap in going or returning, in the first month.
130. 自上田卒至于隤余一人無凶 *tzü shang tien tsu chih yü yü yü i jén wu hsiung.* Hastening from Shang T'ien as far as Yü, I, the One Man, shall have no mishap.
131. 無水在九月 *wu shui tsai chiu yueh.* No floods in the ninth month.
132. 王其田無災 *wang ch'i tien wu tsai.* The king's hunting will be without mishap.
133. 其于霽有大雨 *ch'i — yü yü yü ta yü.* The — at Yü, there will be heavy rain.
134. 王其徙于向無災 *wang ch'i hsi yü hsiang wu tsai.* The king will move to Hsiang without mishap.
135. 乙亥卜貞王其田無災 *i hai pu chéng wang ch'i tien wu tsai.* On the day *i-hai* took an omen as to the king's hunting: no mishap.
136. 命弟子子孫曰 *mìng tì yü tzu sun yueh.* Commanded his younger brothers and his sons and grandsons, saying . .
137. 在祖乙宗 *tsai tsu i tsung.* In the ancestral temple of Tsu I.
138. 辛亥率母弟 *hsin hai shuai mu tì.* On the day *hsin-hai* will [or, did] conduct mother and younger brothers.
139. 巳亥貞其祠于祖乙 *chì hai chéng ch'i tsü yü tsu i.* On the day *chì-hai* took an omen as to the sacrifice to Tsu I.

140. 癸丑卜貞今歲無大水 *kuei ch'ou pu ch'eng chin sui wu ta shui*. On the day *kuei-ch'ou*, ascertained by omen that this harvest there will be no floods.
141. 癸丑卜貞茲月有雨 *kuei ch'ou pu ch'eng chi ts'it yueh yu yü*. On the day *kuei-ch'ou* ascertained by omen that by this month there will be rain.
142. 癸未貞有無禍 *kuei wei ch'eng yu wu huo*. On the day *kuei-wei* took an omen whether or not there will be misfortune.
143. 癸丑卜貞有無禍 *kuei-ch'ou pu ch'eng yu wu huo*. On the day *kuei-ch'ou* took an omen whether or not there will be misfortune.
144. 獲鹿三 *huo lu san*. Caught three deer.
145. 貞自今至于庚戌不其雨 *ch'eng ts'ü chin chih yü k'eng-hsü pu ch'ü yü*. Took an omen that from now till the day *k'eng-hsü* it will not rain.
146. 貞今日不其雨 *ch'eng chin jih pu ch'ü yü*. Ascertained by omen that it will not rain to-day.
147. 己卯貞告于父丁 *chi mau ch'eng kuo yü fu ting*. On the day *chi-mau* took an omen as to an announcement to Father Ting.
148. 甲辰給璧吉魚龜祥 *chia ch'ên kei pi chi yü fu hsiang*. On the day *chia-ch'ên* presented a disk and a lucky fish [viz. a cowrie]; good fortune.
149. 辛亥尙伯給璧 *hsin hai shang po kei pi*. On the day *hsin-hai* the Baron of Shang presented a disk.
150. 丙申五月吉日給璧祥日孫子。一魚 *ping shên wu yueh chi jih kei pi hsiang jih sun ts'ü—i yü*. On the day *ping-shên*, of the fifth month, being a lucky day, presented a disk. On a fortunate day the grandsons and sons—a cowrie.

151. 癸卯賜璧 *kuei-mao t'ü pi*. On the day *kuei-mao* bestowed a disk.
152. 戊寅給璧吉祥 *mou yin kei pi chi hsiny*. On the day *mou-yin* presented a disk: good fortune.
153. 癸巳 \* 給月璧吉 *kuei-sü—kei yueh pi chi*. On the day *kuei-sü*—presented a moon disk: good luck.
154. 今日雨降其西 *chin jih yü chiang ch'i hsi li*. To-day rain will fall in the west.
155. 月德吉祥 *yueh t'ü chi hsiny*. May the moon's influence bring good fortune!

I will close these extracts with two which have a definite historical interest, inasmuch as they seem to refer respectively to the first, and the last but one, of the sovereigns of the Shang or Yin dynasty, which lasted from B.C. 1766 to B.C. 1122.

156. 大乙 *Ta I*. These characters occur twice in my collection, viz. on H. 28 and H. 365, and seem to designate a personage so named. In the first example, on a fragment of deer's horn, they are inscribed side by side, the rest of the legend being in vertical columns. This horizontal juxtaposition is frequent, though not universal, on these relics with the names of personages. (I have noticed it particularly in the case of Tsu I, who reigned B.C. 1525-1506, e.g. on H. 365.) But on H. 365 the two words *Ta I* appear in the ordinary vertical sequence.

Now the curious thing is that there is no Shang dynasty emperor named *Ta* (or *Tai*) *I* in the received list of those sovereigns. However, the Historical Memoirs of Ssu-ma Ts'ien state that the personal name of Ch'eng Tang, the founder of the dynasty, was T'ien I (天乙). And the Chinese author, Mr. Lo Chên-yü, in his *Yin-Shang Chêng Pu Wên Tz'ü Kao*, Examination of the characters used in divination in the Yin-Shang dynasty, p. 3, has ingeniously observed that, judging by the analogy of the names of the early rulers of the dynasty, Tai Ting.

Tai Chia, Tai Kêng, and Tai Mou, there can be little doubt that the received 天乙, Tien I, is a misreading of 大乙, Ta I. I feel confident Lo is right in this. The early forms of 天 and 大 are very like, and this, I suspect, is only one of many blunders made by the Han scholars in reading and transcribing early original records. It would certainly otherwise be difficult to explain how that of the illustrious founder of the dynasty should be among the few Royal names absent from those mentioned on these bones.

157. The last extract I shall give is from a unique form of symbolic disk. The latter is of the usual type, but surmounted by a crescent moon with the two horns attached to the edge of the disk. Joined to the lower limb of the main disk, opposite the crescent, is a much smaller circle, which presumably symbolizes the sun. The main disk, the crescent moon, and the small disk are all covered with characters on both sides. The following passage is the opening part of the main inscription on the obverse, of which it forms rather more than a third. It runs, in modern script, and with reservations explained in my notes as to the 8th, 13th, and 17th characters. 甲申王卜貞受乙給其曰大陸之曰大陽之 . . . *chia shen wang pu chêng shou i kei ch'i yueh ta yin chih yueh ta yang chih* . . . "On the day *chia shen* the king inquired by omen from Shou I as to giving that which is called the Great Feminine, and that which is called the Pure Masculine . . ." the "Great Feminine" and the "Pure Masculine" being no doubt the moon and the sun. In the notes I discuss several points of transcription and translation raised by this passage, but here I desire to call attention only to the name Shou I.

In these two characters, 𠩺 in the original, I believe we have the true name of the last sovereign but one of the Shang dynasty, known in the received text of Shun-ma Ts'ien's Historical Memoirs as 帝乙, Ti I. It will

naturally be asked what arguments I can urge for such a novel opinion. Let me give them. In the first place, let us notice that the designations of the last two rulers of this dynasty are differently given in the Historical Memoirs and the Bamboo Books. In the Memoirs they are styled 帝乙 Ti I, and 紂辛 Chou Hsin; in the Bamboo Books, Ti I and 帝辛 Ti Hsin. The early commentator on the latter work adds the rather enigmatic note upon Ti Hsin, 名受即紂也曰受辛, *ming shou tsi chou yeh yueh shou hsin*, "His name was Shou, that is Chou. He was called Shou Hsin." Observe the apparent confusion here between Shou Hsin and Chou Hsin, and the conflict of the two authorities. (In the Book of History, Shang Shu, the name is always Shou, not Chou.)

Now if the old text of the Bamboo Books, and the genealogical records which may have formed part of the basis of Ssu-ma Ts'ien's History, contained a form resembling this character Shou as written on this and other bone fragments, it might well have been misread as 紂 *chou* by the Han scholars, and the annotator of the Bamboo Books may be correct in his note that Shou Hsin was the real designation of the last sovereign. And this name Shou may have been inherited from his father the so-called Ti I, who, as I suggest, was really the Shou I of our relic.

I had made a note to the above effect before I chanced upon a happy confirmation of this conjecture in the pages of the Liu Shu Ku of Tai Tung, under the character 受. He writes: "The Shang sovereign Shou 受 is always thus written in the Book of History: in the other classical works always 紂 *chou*. One man should not have two names. Moreover, exclusive of this Shang dynasty Chou, the word has never been used, being an error for Shou" (my italics).

Of course, the fact that the last of the dynasty was known as Shou Hsin does not prove that his father was

known as Shou I. But when we find a personage of that name who appears to have been a sovereign, but who cannot be identified *co nomine* as one of the known line of Shang, the presumption seems strong that the foregoing suggestion is correct, especially as all the other three rulers having in their names the character I 乙, viz. Tzu I, Hsiao I, and Wu I, are found on the bones indicated by those very designations. The case of T'ien I, *alias* Ta I, we have already discussed.



## VI

### THE ZOROASTRIAN PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY

By D. H. SPONNER

**E**VER since the exact site of Aśoka's classic capital was determined for us by the keenness and sagacity of Colonel Waddell, it has been a dream of the Government of India in the Archaeological Department to subject the site of Pāṭaliputra to an examination commensurate with its importance. Colonel Waddell had, however, so abundantly demonstrated, in his trial excavations, the difficulty and costliness of extended operations here, that the dream had, until recently, appeared remote of realization. The munificence of Mr. Ratan Tata of Bombay has made the undertaking possible, and his offer of twenty thousand rupees a year, for an indefinite number of years, has enabled the Archaeological Department to take up the work on a scale that would otherwise have been far beyond our resources.

My own personal thanks are due to Dr. Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, for having entrusted me with the direction of this work. It is a privilege such as has come to few men in the Indian field.

This is not the place to enter upon any detailed discussion of the actual work so far accomplished. A more or less adequate statement of the progress made has already been published in the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, for the years 1912-13 and 1913-14, and reference may be had to these for the particulars of the work. It is, however, essential that a brief résumé of our results should be given here, as it is directly out of the excavation that the inquiry has grown whose results are embodied in this paper.



Colonel Waddell, it will be remembered, made a preliminary examination of several detached sites in and around Patna. Among these was a field situated between two tanks in the immediate neighbourhood of Kumrahar, a village south of the modern city. Here the Colonel recovered certain fragments of polished stone with a curving surface, which he rightly judged to be portions of Mauryan pillars. These, he was inclined to think, must have been of Aśokan manufacture. And, as the Chinese pilgrims tell us that Aśoka erected at least two inscribed pillars in his capital, Colonel Waddell thought that one of these two must have been located somewhere in this neighbourhood. In view of the very little evidence available as a basis for judgment at that time, these conclusions were warranted, and in determining to open Mr. Tata's excavations at this site the Department was not without hope of proving that Colonel Waddell was right.

The work was begun on January 6, 1913. It soon became apparent, then, from the multiplicity, varied texture, and small diameter of our pillar fragments, that they could not have emanated from an edict column. I therefore assumed that some Mauryan building must have been situated here, and altered my methods of work to suit this changed hypothesis. The result was entirely satisfactory, as on February 7, one month from the commencement of the work, the columnar rows of a vast pillared hall were located. It has proved, however, a work of unusual difficulty to determine the extent of this building, owing to the singular fact that the massive and imperishable portions of the structure have wholly disappeared, apparently by sinkage. The wooden parts, the roof, the floor, etc., have been burnt or have decayed, as the case may be, and all that is left at present to tell the story of the palace is the *disjecta membra* of its ruin and the singular stratigraphical indications of the soil. Evidences of this nature are not easy to observe. They are more difficult to co-ordinate,

and still more so to elucidate connectedly. This must be my excuse for not having gained a larger finality of judgment, with the men and money at my disposal; but the following pages will show that substantial progress has been made, even now.

It will be seen that the tangible evidences from which my deductions are drawn are very few. But it should be understood that stratigraphical evidences cannot lie, and that by careful observation and scrupulous tabulation they can be made to yield almost as certain information as to the nature of a structure as actual remnants of the same in situ. When we find, for example, that heaps of pillar fragments lie in rows at regular intervals across the site; that underneath these heaps of stone, descending tubular holes occur, filled from above; that these holes are always round in plan, of fixed diameter, and regularly spaced, we see as clearly that rows of columns originally stood at these particular points as though we actually had the pillars in position. It is by following methods such as these that I have derived that information which is the basis of my present inquiry. The data are at least definite and accurate. But whether my interpretation of them is the one and only right one must be left to the future to determine. One object in this paper is to make them seem more reasonable.

The starting-point for our deductions is the ground plan of the building under excavation. By the end of the first season we had located eight rows of monolithic polished pillars, with at least ten pillars in each row. For reasons we need not here discuss, one of these pillars was found to have escaped the general fate of sinkage, and this one was recovered. From it exact measurements have been determined, which have introduced an element of real precision into the study; and this has enabled me to deal with the nature and design of the palace in a manner much more satisfactory than would otherwise have been

possible at this stage. We see now, for example, that the building consisted of a vast pillared hall, presumably square, with stone columns arranged in square bays over the entire area, placed at distances of 15 feet, or ten Mauryan cubits, each from each. This much alone disclosed the fact that the building was unparalleled in ancient India. Square halls with multiple rows of pillars in square bays are commonplace in modern Indian architecture, but the really ancient period has hitherto had none to show.

The mere fact that our building seemed unique might never have led us to the right clue for its interpretation had foreign influence in Mauryan times not been established theretofore. But it has been known for years that Aśoka's edicts echo the great Darius's, that the style of his sculptured capitals originated in Persepolis, and it had been inferred, by Dr. Marshall in particular from the Sarnāth capital, that Mauryan stonework had been wrought by foreign masons. When, then, the plan of our building seemed to be so clearly un-Indian, while our columns showed the peculiar Persian polish, it seemed to me not impossible that even in its design the building might have been under Persian influence. My wife was sure that she remembered something of the sort among the pictures of Persepolis, and her optimism finally induced me to search among the records of that site.

I did not have far to look. The so-called Hall of a Hundred Columns at Persepolis, the throne-room of Darius Hystaspes, afforded a sufficiently striking parallel to our structure at first glance. It was a square hall, with ten rows of ten columns, evenly spaced in square bays. At Pātālīputra, to be sure, we had only eight rows, but there was every reason to suppose that others would be found, and possibly evidence for a porch as well, to correspond with the porch in Persepolis on the north side of the throne-room. Our orientation appeared to be

correct. Nay, more, the one big column which we had recovered showed a mason's mark of curious type, which seemed extremely similar to a mason's mark familiar at Persepolis. The form was not identical, perhaps, but the resemblance was nevertheless unmistakable and very striking. This, then, was satisfactory, and I was encouraged to look more closely into the details of the two buildings. On so doing I found that Darius's columns were ten Persian cubits apart. The Mauryan columns are ten Indian cubits apart. Did this imply identity of scale? It seemed to, although there was still the outstanding possibility that the two structures had been of the same size, and that the difference between the two cubits had been equalized by using more pillars in the Indian hall. The intercolumniation at Kumrahar was found to be five diameters: an intercolumniation not identical, perhaps, with that of the Persian throne-room, but still one which is essentially Persepolitan, and never found, so far as I am aware, in any other country of antiquity. No capitals had been recovered in Patna to help us in comparing the two buildings, nor had any pedestals been met with. But a careful study of the stratification suggested that pedestals had, in all probability, existed in our hall, and the indicated dimensions and proportions justified the thought that these pedestals must have been themselves of Persepolitan type, round in plan, some 3 feet high, and, inferentially, bell-shaped, though as regards this latter point no evidence exists.

Other points of seeming similarity between the Mauryan hall and its suspected Achæmenian prototype were also found, but a discussion of them is unnecessary in this paper. Enough has been said already to explain why it seemed to me reasonable to assume, as a working hypothesis for the conduct of my future operations, that the structure under excavation really did betray strong Achæmenian influence, and that indeed it looked, at even

that early stage of the work, curiously like a copy of the Persian hall.

But, if we were justified in assuming, even tentatively that the throne-room of Darius was really the prototype of this Mauryan palace, the question then arose, what about those other palaces associated with the throne-room at Persepolis? There the throne-room is only one of a large complex of halls and porticoes. Was it conceivable that the Mauryans should have copied the whole design? It certainly was not conceivable that the hall we were excavating could have stood in splendid isolation. There must have been other buildings associated with it. Might they not have reflected the Achæmenian grouping, after all? At any rate, it could do no harm to look and see if there were surface indications at the appropriate points. In order to do this I took Lord Curzon's plan of Persepolis, marked out the south-west corner of our pillared hall as closely as was possible at that time, and started out through the jungle with tape and compass.

The whole story of that wonderful day cannot be given here. It will be found in my Annual Report for 1913-14. But here it will suffice to record that the results of that exploration were fairly astounding.

At a point almost precisely corresponding to the position of the House of Xerxes (Lord Curzon's "S.E. Edifice") I discovered a mound which was correct in form and orientation. This lay south of the pillared hall, or rather south-west, and its corners, being square, showed that it could not mark the site of any early stûpa. Now north-west of this position in Persepolis lies the Palace of Darius. On proceeding in this direction for a suitable distance, a further mound appeared, which corresponded with startling accuracy to the monument in the similar position at Persepolis. The outline of this mound, its orientation, its configuration, and its bearing from the other sites, all seemed in perfect harmony with our theory. Nay, I was also able to

determine that all these mounds, etc., lay on a well-defined raised area, with a sharply marked edge which counterfeited curiously the edge of the artificial terrace at Persepolis, not only in bearing and extent, but even as regards the south-west angle. The whole plateau appeared to have been once surrounded by a moat. This seemed to imply a Mauryan copy of the entire Persepolitan design in all its main essentials. There were even ridges and other minor indications at other points corresponding to further members of the Achæmenian group of structures; but these were less conclusive than the main mounds, and their significance was uncertain. Enough was clear, however, to show us that not only was our original pillared hall strongly reminiscent of the Persian throne-room even in matters of detail, but that its surroundings also showed a parallelism to the Achæmenian site which could not possibly be explained except by the assumption that the one reflected the other definitely.

No *certainty*, of course, could be attained until further excavations could be carried out. Concrete evidences must be found, inscriptional or otherwise, before we can determine the question finally. But I was forced to conclude either that we had the most extraordinary chapter of accidents known to archaeology, or that we had a conscious Mauryan copy of Persepolis. The latter assumption seemed more probable. And yet, when I stopped to ask myself what such a Mauryan replica of Persepolis would mean, and to consider all that such a thing must seemingly imply, I was not altogether sure at first that such a theory would be really tenable. Did it appear consistent with existing knowledge?

It remains doubtful whether the purely monumental evidences previously known in India would warrant an affirmative answer to this question. It has for many years been recognized that Persian influence did indeed exist in India, although the extent of this influence was

undetermined. Mr. Kennedy, writing in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* sixteen years ago,<sup>1</sup> recognized Persepolis as the channel for most Assyrian forms in India, and stated that, however indigenous the elementary conceptions of art and architecture may have been, "there was abundant scope for the borrowing of detail; and, as a matter of fact," he adds, "most of the details were borrowed from Persia." And yet neither Mr. Kennedy nor, before him, Professor Grünwedel could adduce much as extant and tangible except a few Aśoka capitals, a few Persepolitan pilasters, and isolated Persian or Assyrian *motifs* as concrete evidence, beside the Aśoka inscriptions, for that influence that, none the less, they rightly predicated. Grünwedel declared that all the important monuments of really ancient India which have been preserved show undoubted Persian influence in their style. But he was forced to admit that "this Persian style . . . is unfortunately represented only by a few monuments upon which it is almost impossible to pronounce judgement".<sup>2</sup>

But does this mean that really very little Persian influence is traceable in early India? And, just because few monuments can be adduced to prove the point, are we to hold that theories of large influence are untenable? By no means. We know that Darius counted India among his provinces, although the extent of his dominions in this country is unknown, and Bühler endorsed the ascription of the Kharoshthi system of writing to the Aramaic clerks of Achaemenian rule. These facts alone justify Grünwedel and would render plausible enough an assumption of large Persian influence in early days, even had we no shred of other evidence at all. But, when we come to the Aśoka period and find his edicts echoing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JRAS.*, April, 1898, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (1st ed., Berlin, 1893), p. 17; Grünwedel & Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 17.

Darius's: when Dr. Marshall tells us his columns and his capitals were wrought by Greco-Persian masons; when Dr. Thomas shows us how we must look to the façade of Darius's tomb to realize how the Mathurâ Lion Capital fitted into place, we surely see that Persian influence in early India is no hypothesis at all. The only mystery is that monumental evidences are so few.

It may be true that, so far as Indian architecture is concerned, the only substantial point showing Persian influence is the capital.<sup>1</sup> It may be true that no architectural plan in India, nor any type of building, as a whole, has hitherto been known which one could say was based directly on a Persian model. But these facts do not militate against our theory seriously, nor render our suggested interpretation of the archæological indications at Kumrahar at all unpalatable, as they show us that Persian influence *ought* to be traceable in India more largely than it is. But our case is even stronger, for these evidences do not stand alone. There is fortunately a certain body of literature also available, in conjunction with which our other data gain greatly in cohesion and significance.

Megasthenes will bear us testimony that the Indian Court was almost wholly Persian in his day. Mr. Vincent Smith has brought together the details in his invaluable *History*, and the picture which he paints for us of Chandragupta's Court is Achæmenian in every line and tint. By far the strongest of the evidences named above are obviously those for the Aśokan period. When the edict pillars of Aśoka testify to Persian influence, not by their style alone, but by their substance and their very script, it is clear that he, at least, drew definitely on the West for inspiration. Without Megasthenes, however, the

<sup>1</sup> According to Fergusson the most Persepolitan of all Indian capitals are those in the comparatively late caves of Bodhi; cf. *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 138.



fact *could* seem an isolated one, a personal predilection, possibly of the individual, not of itself involving necessarily any subservience to Persian culture on the part of either Court or country, and, indeed, restricted largely, *so* it might have seemed, to the one domain of royal proclamations. Megasthenes shows us that this was not the case, and teaches us that in this turning to the West for inspiration Aśoka made, himself, no new departure, but merely followed in a course inaugurated by his grandfather, and thus familiar to the dynasty as such. Indeed, considering what the classic authors say, it is apparent that in the earlier days Persian influence at the Mauryan Court was, if anything, stronger than has hitherto been evidenced for later times. We know, however, that even in Aśoka's reign the Viceroy in the west of his dominions was an actual Persian named Tushāspa, and it is believed that the famous waterworks he carried out were copies of the Babylonian. But for Chandragupta's time the evidences are more numerous *and more detailed*, and indicate a following of Persian *customs all along the line*—in public works, in ceremonial, in penal institutions, everything.

Here, then, we find an atmosphere indeed congenial to our postulate. At a Court where the Indian monarch washed his royal hair according to the Persian calendar, and built the royal highway from his palace in imitation of Darius's, his palaces themselves may very well have been as imitative as the royal road. We therefore need no longer hesitate to give our archaeological evidences at Kumrahar their full face value. Far from being opposed to our existing knowledge, they merely supplement and complete it, uniting previous scraps of information into a consistent and harmonious whole, and showing us upon the threshold of the historical period a dynasty of almost purely Persian type—how purely Persian we shall see as we go on. The only loss involved, if this be so, concerns

Asoka. He has hitherto been credited with having introduced the use of stone, and Greeks have shared with Persian the honour of inspiring him. But is there any trace of Greek influence at Chandragupta's Court in all the records of Megasthenes? A Greek himself, Megasthenes would surely not have failed to boast of his own nation's influence at a foreign Court which he openly admired, had such existed. But this he most conspicuously fails to do. The inference is thus warranted that any Greek touches we may trace in Piyadasi's reign are later in their origin, and possibly of Bactrian provenance—a view, I think, which Dr. Marshall holds. For Chandragupta's time the evidences point to Persia only.

But then the question arises, is Megasthenes admissible as evidence for any structures yet discovered at Kumrahar? If these are of Asokan origin, Megasthenes may not be strictly relevant, as all his words relate to edifices older than Asoka by two generations, and generations, too, which must have witnessed strides in all directions, as the Mauryan empire settled to solidity. To justify reliance on Megasthenes as really relevant to my contention, I must refer to Chinese sources.

In Fa Hien one sentence in particular has obvious bearing. In describing how the genii had built Asoka's "halls and palaces", he says, "piled up the stones and raised the walls and gates" (*lei shih ch'i ch'uang ch'ueh*, 累石起牆闕).<sup>1</sup> This must, with certainty, refer to walls of stone, and the testimony is more valuable as Fa Hien describes what he himself had actually beheld. The description, however, is inapplicable to the structures under excavation at Kumrahar. These, so far as can be judged, were wholly built of wood. Possibly portions were made of brick, but stone was used sparingly, for certain features only. What Fa Hien describes is real

<sup>1</sup> Legge, *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, trans., p. 77; text, p. 二十元.

stone architecture of developed type. At Kumrahar what we see is the first use of dressed stone for building purposes, where stone is still subordinate to wood, and largely restricted to columnar use, and use in decorative adjuncts to the structure. The architectural stage appears essentially an older one.

But let us note that, although Fa Hien's description of Aśoka's palaces would make it difficult, if not impossible, to assign our new-found monuments to this emperor, it is nevertheless in no way inappropriate to a Persian palace, or rather, I might say, it seems of singular propriety for buildings of the Persian type specifically. Not only did the genii pile up the stones to build the walls and gates: they further executed, as Legge puts it, "the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture work . . . which no human hands of this world could accomplish."<sup>1</sup> These words are surely apt enough in application to the palaces of Darius or of Xerxes, with their vast sculptured stylobates of stone, even if we do not press the "inlaid sculpture work". I do not know, myself, exactly what these words imply. The Chinese text says only *k'o lou*, 刻鏤, which Giles explains<sup>2</sup> as (a) "to cut into", (b) "to carve, engrave", or, both combined, as equal to "inlay". The thought lies near at hand that what the pilgrim really means are figural mosaics of glazed brick, like those of Susa.<sup>3</sup> If this is really so, the Persian nature of even Aśoka's palace is assured indeed. However that may be, and whether Fa Hien be taken as implying Persian influence in Aśoka's palaces or not, he certainly cannot be quoted in support of any ascription to Aśoka of our buildings at Kumrahar, so far as present indications go.

Nor can Hsien Tshang. He tells us little of the nature of the Aśokan monuments, but fortunately one passage

<sup>1</sup> Legge, *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, trans., p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Dictionary numbers 6099 and 7354.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Lion Frieze and the Frieze of Archers pictured by Perrot and Chipiez against p. 420 of their *History of Art in Persia*, English trans.

may be noted which bears significantly on the question of topography. After mentioning the "old palace", which to my mind, means Aśoka's palace inferentially, and having dealt successively with all the sites of interest lying to the north, the pilgrim, standing at the palace as his centre, turns him then towards the group of stūpas now identified with Pāṇch Pahārī. In one straight line with these apparently, and somewhere midway between them and the palace itself, he notes the presence of an ancient terrace beside a little hill of stone. The passage has been variously rendered, and seems to have been of vague significance to most translators. Beal calls it not a terrace, but a tower; but Watters must be right in using "terrace" to interpret *t'ai*, 臺. Both he and Beal, however, then assert that *of* the tower, or *of* this terrace, the stone foundations were still traceable. But is this consonant with what is known of Pāṭaliputran archaeology? Such foundations as have hitherto been met with in this city are of wood, and wooden palisades are attested both by the *ξύλινον περίβολον* of Megasthenes, and by considerable stretches actually recovered here and there in Patna to confirm the Greek. If any terrace did exist, we may feel sure that its foundations were of wood. The Chinese text thus seems to me to demand a different rendering. The original<sup>1</sup> reads: *p'ang yu ku t'ai*; *yü chi chi shih*; *ch'ih chuo lien i*, 傍有故臺。餘基積石。池沼澹澹。 Word for word this may be rendered, "beside [the small stony hill], there is, old, terrace; extant, foundations, heaps, stones; ponds, pools, flowing water, ripples." In view, therefore, of what actually meets the eye at Pāṭaliputra, I propose to interpret this to mean that by the side of the little hill aforementioned there was an ancient terrace, upon which still existed old foundations and heaps of stone debris, together with

<sup>1</sup> Kyōto edition, vol. ii, book viii, p. 10, last line; Beal, *Buddhist Records*, etc., vol. ii, p. 96.

tanks of rippling water. From the archaeological point of view this is a rendering considerably more probable than any hitherto advanced. It literally and with accuracy describes the terrace now discovered, whereon tanks and old foundations must indeed have been traceable in Hiuen Tshang's time. I have, therefore, no hesitation in advancing this version of the text, and applying it to the site of Mr. Tata's excavations.

The bearing from Pāñch Pahāri is, however, incorrect as stated in the Chinese, where all the manuscripts collated for the Kyōto edition (kindly sent me by my former *guru*, Dr. Takakusu) place both the terrace and the stūpas south-west of the old palace.<sup>1</sup> But as no one, so far as I can remember, has ever sought to place the palace north-east of Pāñch Pahāri, and as the places mentioned by Hiuen Tshang as lying to the north were sought by Colonel Waddell generally to the north-west of the Kumrahar site, the single character involved seems open to suspicion. Pāñch Pahāri is definitely south-east of both our terrace and any probable location for Aśoka's palace, and instead of *hsi nan*, 西南, "south-west," we presumably must read *tung nan*, 東南, "south-east." At all events, even putting aside this suggested alteration of a single character, and one relating only to that most readily mistaken of all vocables, the cardinal points, it is to my mind certain that the pilgrim is referring to our terrace at Kumrahar, and equally certain that he differentiates it from Aśoka's palace. Thus both our Chinese authors seem to indicate that our remains are not those of the Aśokan palaces. That they are not of later date is obvious from the monuments themselves. We therefore must assign them either to Bindusāra or to Chandragupta, and the relevancy of Megasthenes is manifest in either case.

<sup>1</sup> Watters' rendering of 故宮, *ku kung*, by "old city" seems to me indefensible.

If, then, the ascription of these buildings to the earliest Mauryan times is justified, and they themselves seem striving to proclaim their Persian character, the harmony between our archaeological evidences and our Greek historians would seem complete. If to all this there can be added evidence from Indian literary sources tending to prove the existence of Persian buildings at this period, the chain of testimony will be all that could be wished, and the probability of Achaemenian dominance in Mauryan architecture be raised to very near a certainty. Our first inquiry in this paper, therefore, must be into the Indian evidences on this architectural point.

I had not, myself, expected any Indian documents to shed light upon the question. I must therefore thank Professor Jacobi for suggesting that perhaps the *Mahābhārata* might have some bearing on the problem. The hint has proved a clue to veins of rich suggestiveness. The first thing to catch my eye on following this distinguished scholar's counsel was a paragraph in Hopkins's *Great Epic*. On p. 391, where he discusses the age of the *Mahābhārata*, we read: "More important than this evidence [of Buddhist philosophy, etc.] is the architecture, which is of stone and metal and is attributed in all the more important building operations to the demon Asura or Dānava Maya, who by his magic power builds such huge buildings as are described, immense moated palaces with arches, and a roof supported by a thousand columns."

These words reminded me at once of the moated monuments whose buried vestiges I had been privileged to find; and when so many and so varied reasons existed for believing them to be of Persian character, actually constructed by imported Persian masons (for have we not a Persian mason's mark on our big column?), the ascription in the *Mahābhārata* of structures such as these to one Asura Maya leapt into instant meaning as an echo

of Ahura Mazda. Every detail that I have subsequently ascertained has tended to confirm this supposition. The Sanskrit text appears to me directly applicable to structures of the type recovered at Kumrahar, and as these, from all the evidences, are of Persian type, and those are openly ascribed to superhuman agency in the person of the Asura Maya, it would seem to me that all our streams of evidence converge harmoniously, and that the Asura Maya really means Ahura Mazda.

In making this statement I do not wish to be misunderstood as implying that Maya is, or could be, any Indian cognate equivalent of Mazda. The Indian cognate, Dr. Thomas tells me, is *medhā*. What I do mean is, that when the use of dressed stone for building purposes was first introduced into India by the Mauryas, through the instrumentality of imported Persian masons, these builders, being of Zoroastrian faith and accustomed to ascribe their works to the grace of Ahura Mazda, made this name familiar to the Indian population in this connexion specifically. As these buildings were, to the Indian mind, of supernatural grandeur and elegance, there gradually grew up the belief that Ahura Mazda was the actual builder of them. The name, however, remained at all times a foreign one, and, like all other foreign names in India, was pronounced by the people in an approximate form only.

The equation of Asura with Ahura needs no defence. That much is palpable enough. Nor does the equation of Maya with Mazda involve any serious difficulties. It is well known that foreign sounds represented in English

<sup>1</sup> As regards Weber's "Vermuthung" that the Asura Maya is to be identified with Ptolemaios, all I need say is that the suggestion seems to me wholly unsupported. But Weber's remark, "dass wir unter Dānavas und Asuras häufig genug fremde Völker zu verstehen haben," and his contention that Maya was originally of foreign origin are both alike serviceable for my own argument. Cf. *Ind. Stud.* II, 243, and *Akad. Vorlesungen über Ind. Literaturgeschichte*, p. 250.

by *j* or *z* or *zh* both were and are commonly transcribed in India with a *y*, as in the case of *Āyuv* and *Āyusa*, where we may be sure that the *y* was pronounced with a sound near to the French *j*, as is indeed the case in many parts of India to-day. This, then, justifies us in re-writing the form *Asura Maya* as *Asura Maja*, and the closeness of this to *Ahura Mazda* thus becomes apparent. Given *Ahura Mazda* in the mouths of imported masons, *Asura Maya*, with a *j* sound, is what might normally have been expected as the Indianized form of the name.

The association of the *Asura Maya*, thus derived, with architectural works in particular, is largely explained by what has already been said. But I would go even further than this, and would affirm that this is in entire accord with Persepolitan usage. Compare, for example, the epigraph on the great Porch of Xerxes, as rendered by Lord Curzon in his *Persia* (vol. ii, p. 156): "A great god is Ormuzd, who hath created the earth, who hath created the heavens, who hath created man . . . Xerxes the Great King saith: by the grace of Ormuzd I have made this portal . . . Many other noble monuments there are in this Parsa, which I have wrought and which my father hath wrought. That which hath been wrought is good. All of it we have wrought by the grace of Ormuzd . . ."

It may be true that neither in this epigraph nor in Persia generally was *Ahura Mazda* looked upon, in Achaemenian times, as the literal builder. But neither need we suppose that in the days of the Mauryas the *Asura Maya* was so looked upon, either. The conception of the *Asura Maya* as an active architect is an essentially later development, which presumably took place as Persepolitan architecture waned in India, and such palaces as the Mauryas had constructed came to seem more and more superhuman to the feebler generations which succeeded.

This seems to me to provide us at last with a true historical genesis for the belief that the Mauryan halls



and palaces were erected by the *genii*. Both Fa Hien and Hiuen T'sang state the fact, and what more natural background for their *kuei shén*, 鬼神, than this very Asura Maya of the texts? But we need hardly imagine that Chandragupta looked upon the Asura Maya as an architect, any more than that Asoka supposed his palaces were built by *genii*.

It is also true, of course, that in Persia itself Ahura Mazda, being the Great Spirit and Creator, was not necessarily more closely connected with architecture than with other human undertakings. Presumably he was always invoked in every work man undertook, and all that mankind wrought at all was "wrought by the grace of Ormuzd". But in India, supposing such invocation and such ascription limited to a body of foreigners, and specifically to a body of stone-masons, the more restricted association of his name with architecture is but natural. That is to say, we should have had no legitimate grounds for surprise had we found the Indian counterpart of Ahura Mazda strictly and absolutely limited to architecture in the popular mind. But, as a matter of fact, this happens not to be the case. Even in India the originally broader character of the Asura Maya is still traceable. He is more than a mere architect, even here.

This being so, it is most instructive to observe what other functions or characteristics are ascribed to him. If these could be shown to be incompatible with the character of Ahura Mazda, to concern themselves with matters foreign to Ahura Mazda in particular or Persian life in general, our present thesis would be much endangered. As it is, the very reverse is the case. Under the word *Maya* the St. Petersburg dictionary records: "N. pr. ciues Asura, eines vollendeten Werkmeisters und Kenners aller Zauberkünste . . . Lehrer der Astronomie . . . der Kriegskunst . . ." Could more appropriate attributes be found for the Great Spirit of the Zoroastrians, as known

to the wonder-working priesthood of the Magi? And is not the great Ishtar, perhaps the most popular divinity among the Persians, peculiarly associated with these very Asuras or Dānavas? Witness the compounds *asuraguru*, "teacher of the Asuras," and *dānavapūjita*, "worshipped by the Dānavas," both of which are Sanskrit names for Venus, well-attested.

So far as general character is concerned, therefore, the parallelism between the Asura Maya and Ahura Mazda is all that one could wish. Nay, more, unless I am mistaken, one line in the *Mahābhārata* is tantamount to a direct asseveration of the identity proposed. For do we not read in MBh., book ii, 1,

अहं हि विश्वकर्मा वै दानवानां महाकविः

*Mahākavi*. I would point out, is not altogether easy in this line, if taken in the ordinary Indian sense. Maya was certainly not a "great poet". But *kavi* as a technical Zoroastrian term is quite harmonious to the character of Maya as I interpret it, and we can read the line most readily with both this term and *Vīśvakarmā* in the Magian sense—

"For I am the creator, the great Kavi of the Dānavas."  
Could Maya state identity with Ormuzd in clearer terms?

Turning now to the actual structures with which Maya is associated in the *Mahābhārata*, the first question to be considered is, do these buildings show any peculiarly Persian features? Are they pronouncedly Achaemenian palaces or are they merely ordinary Indian buildings on an increased scale? To this question it would not hitherto have been easy to give any categorical answer. But that they are not merely ordinary Indian buildings on a poetically exaggerated scale is sufficiently clear from the fact that nowhere in ancient India has anything of the type described in the *Mahābhārata* been met with, prior to the excavations of Pataliputra. If, therefore, it can be shown

that Chandragupta Maurya did indeed erect structures for which the *Mahābhārata* text would furnish an acceptable description, it will follow, from the evidences named above, that the structures credited to Maya in the Epic were really palaces of Persian type. For it would be difficult indeed to deny the Persian character of the monuments now located in Patna.

We cannot consider the question adequately without a detailed reference to the Sanskrit text. The first passage I wish to consider is MBh. ii, l. 14-17, which reads as follows:—

दानवानां पुरा पार्थ प्रासादा हि मया कृताः ॥  
 रम्याणि सुखमर्भाणि भोगाद्यानि सहस्रशः ।  
 उद्यानानि च रम्याणि सरांसि विविधानि च ॥  
 विचित्राणि च वस्त्राणि कामगानि रथानि च ।  
 नगराणि विशालानि सादृष्टाकारवन्ति च ॥  
 वाहनानि च मुखाणि विचित्राणि सहस्रशः ।  
 विलासि रमणीयानि सुखयुक्तानि वै भृशम् ॥  
 एते कृता मया सर्वे . . .

Here Maya himself is giving to Arjuna a catalogue, as it were, of all the wondrous things that he had fashioned. I translate: "Aforetimes, Partha, the palaces of the Dānavas were wrought by me; pavilions full of pleasures and abounding in delights a thousandfold; delightful gardens, too, and ponds of various kinds; and wondrous vestments, chariots that moved at will, and cities far extended, with high rampart walls: also thousands of wondrous vehicles most excellent, and pleasing caves to every comfort joined. All these by me were wrought."

Are splendid palaces, pavilions, pleasure gardens, fancy ponds, and wondrous vestments such things as one would naturally expect to find predicated of the aboriginal tribes, as the Asuras are called,<sup>1</sup> and cities stretching far

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fausbøll's *Indian Mythology*, p. 1, and again p. 41.

and wide with lofty ramparts? Certainly not. Neither have we any specific evidence for them as every-day occurrences among the Hindus at any early period, save one. Indeed, that they were not commonplaces is sufficiently clear from the Epic ascription to supernatural power. One does not invoke the genii to explain the matter-of-course.

But there is one period of Indian history and one Indian Court where definite evidence exists for just these things. I quote Vincent Smith's *Early History*, which says<sup>1</sup>: "The buildings [of Chandragupta's Court] stood in an extensive park, studded with fish-ponds and furnished with a great variety of ornamental trees and shrubs . . . gorgeous embroidered robes were to be seen in profusion, and contributed to the brilliancy of the public ceremonies. When the King condescended to show himself in public on state occasions, he was carried in a golden palanquin, adorned with tassels of pearls, and was clothed in fine muslin embroidered with purple and gold . . ." Does not this English quotation from Curtius and Strabo sound curiously like the *Mahābhārata*? The gorgeous palaces, the stretching city, and the lofty ramparts of Pataliputra are also all more than adequately attested by Megasthenes. Thus really everything included by Maya in this inventory of his works is specifically evidenced for the Court of Chandragupta, except the caves. As regards these, however, let me note that, in the little artificial hill beside the terrace which Hiuen Tsang tells of, the pilgrim makes particular mention of *shu shih shih shih*, 數十石室, "several tens of stone chambers," which are palpable caves.<sup>2</sup>

In the natural hill east of the Persepolitan terrace are also caves, namely the royal tombs. The connecting link we owe to Dr. Marshall. He, studying afresh the oldest

<sup>1</sup> First edition, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Watters, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 95.

caves in India, the Mauryan caves in the Barābar Hills, near Gayā, came to the conclusion, some months prior to my discovery of the terrace at Kumrahar, that the men who fashioned them betrayed familiarity with just these royal rock-cut tombs of Achæmenian Persia. Could better or more independent proof be wished? We have thus found some record for the existence at Pātāliputra of each and every thing in Maya's list, and some of these, the caves particularly, are known to have been exclusively of Persian character. This passage alone would almost warrant an equation between the Asura Maya and Ahura Mazda. But let us continue our examination of the Epic text, for now we come to passages of special interest and significance, in this same canto.

Maya has hitherto been pressing for permission to construct something for Arjuna to show his gratitude to him for having saved his (Maya's) life. There is possibly some historical allusion behind this also, if our knowledge were but adequate; but let it pass. Arjuna has declined the offer, so far as he is himself concerned, but ultimately yields to Maya's importunities to the extent of bidding him build something fine for Kṛishṇa. Kṛishṇa himself decides on a Sabhā—a Durbar Hall, or throne-room, we should say—and proceeds then to define his wishes in a vague and general way. He stipulates for a wondrous hall, one that no mortals could essay to imitate, one

यच्च दिव्यामभिप्रायान् यस्मै विहितास्त्वया ।

आसुराणाञ्चुवाचैव तादृशीं कुर्व वे सभाम् ॥<sup>1</sup>

The interpretation of these words appears to me not easy. I cannot read them satisfactorily with any of the accepted meanings of *abhiprāyah*. How could any divine "intentions" or "purposes" be so "wrought" by Maya as to be literally "seen" in the Sabhā? The difficulty is increased if these "intentions" are to be, not only divine,

but also such as appertain to Asuras and to mankind. It would seem to me that the word *abhiprāyaḥ* must contain some special meaning here, one perhaps long since forgotten. None of the meanings given in the lexicons accessible to me seem suitable, as not a single one is lucid or makes sense if taken literally.

But let us remember that  $\sqrt{i}$  with *abhi-pra* means "to go near to", "to approach", and then particularly, "to approach with one's mind". Does this not lead us legitimately to the idea of *conception*, in, let us say, the artistic sense? "Where we may see the conceptions of the gods and Asuras and men which thou hast formed" would appear a fairly literal and satisfactory rendering. In ultimate purport we might put it freely: "Where we may look on concepts of the gods, of Asuras and men which thou hast fashioned, a hall of this sort, prithee, build!" Roy has employed the word "design" in this passage. This is perhaps acceptable; but we may, for all that, be permitted to wonder in what sense he used the word. *Abhiprāyaḥ* in the meaning "artistic design, pattern figure" does not appear to have been recorded. But the extension is a natural one, in Sanskrit as in English, and I do not doubt but that we have this extended meaning here. But I do doubt if Roy intended so to use the word.<sup>1</sup> The reference appears to be to statuary, sculptured representations of figures divine, semi-divine, and human—thus providing an interesting sidelight on the still open question whether divine figures were sculptured in India previous to the Gandhāra school!

But can support be found for this proposed translation? I think it can, and to this end would cite the passage ii, 3. 31. Here the very hall for which Kṛishṇa is, as it

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above I find that Böttlingk on p. 1022 of his Dictionary, vol. v, among the addenda to ॐ, records *abhiprāya* in the sense of "Erscheinung, Phantom", with reference to M.Bh. 13. 2827. *latra dīrya abhiprāya dadarta*, which is gratifying confirmation of my views.

were, giving his specifications in the previous passage, has been completed, and the text declares—

तां सा तच्च मयेनोक्ता रक्षन्ति च वहन्ति च ।

सभामही सहस्राणि किङ्करा नाम राक्षसाः ।

"There, by Maya bidden, eight thousand of the Rakshasas called Kinkaras did guard the hall and did uphold it."

And again, in the passage ii, 10. 3, the Sabhā of Kubera is described as

गुह्यविदलमाना

"Upheld by Guhyakas."

Into association with these two citations I should like to bring the passage ii, 11. 14 ff. The South Indian text as published in Bombay reads thus:—

सर्वेर्न च धृता सा तु शाश्वती न च सा चरा ॥ १४ ॥

दिविर्नानाविधिर्भाविर्भासन्निरमितप्रभः ॥ १५ ॥

चति चन्द्रं च सूर्यं च शिखिनं च स्वयंप्रभा ।

दीप्यते नावपुङ्खा भर्तृयन्त्रीव भास्वरम् ॥ १६ ॥

Roy translates this as follows: "It doth not seem to be supported on columns. It knoweth no deterioration, being eternal. That self-effulgent mansion, by its numerous blazing celestial indications of unrivalled splendour, seems to surpass the moon, the sun, and the fire. Stationed in heaven, it blazes forth as if censuring the maker of the day." I must confess that this does not appear to me specially coherent, although Fausbøll quotes it with seeming approval.<sup>1</sup> What precisely does "blazing celestial indications" mean? What is the connexion between the statements "it doth not seem to be supported on columns" and "it knoweth no deterioration, being eternal"? And does not Roy's rendering ignore the *tu* and disregard the construction with it?

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Mythology*, p. 73.

Fausbøll's approval makes me hesitate, because I naturally dislike to challenge an interpretation accepted by so great a scholar; but I cannot avoid the suspicion that the text is here corrupt. A really critical edition of the *Mahabhārata* would, I feel sure, show us the *pāda* *śīvaśī na ca sū kaharā* placed differently, probably in closer association with the *lips atī candram*, etc., where it would appear more relevant. That something has gone wrong with the text is even externally indicated by the fact that stanza 15 shows only one line. Something has apparently got left out, and the *śīvaśī*, etc., *pāda* has got misplaced. It appears to me that the *stambhair na ca dhṛitā sū tu* must be brought into connexion with the instrumental cases in that single line which now figures as stanza 15, and that in the absence of our missing *pāda* we should read *stambhair na ca dhṛitā sū tu diryair nānāvidhair bhāvair bhāsadbhīr amita-prabhair* consecutively.

For the interpretation of this altered text I need only state that among the meanings of *bhāva* we find "a being", "a living creature". A *being* in the sense of *bodily form* or *shape* is evidently what we need, and thus I take the passage to mean: "And neither is it upheld by columns, but by divers radiant heavenly beings of unequalled splendour." This brings me to my synthesis of all these passages. I take the poet to be referring, in all alike, to a type of throne-room or *Sabhā* familiar to his contemporaries, but now lost to human memory, in which the actual pillars, as merely structural necessities, were lost to the consciousness of the beholder by reason of his absorption in the symbolism of a different and more conspicuous feature. This feature was the literal presence of innumerable large sculptured representations of divine and semi-divine beings, so sculptured and disposed as to impress the beholder as actually supporting, on their upstretched arms, the various floors of the *Sabhā*, thus



justifying the description of the poet, *rakshanti ca vahanti ca*, where *vah* has its simplest and most natural meaning of "bearing", or "upholding", literally.

It became, then, a matter of the utmost importance for my present thesis to observe that for tangible historical evidence for such a structure as the *Mahābhārata* describes we must have recourse to Persepolis. Nowhere in ancient India has there hitherto been any indication of a structure of this type. But on the sculptured face of the tomb of Darius Hystaspes, and, in abbreviated form, at the entrance, significantly enough, to his Sabhā, we see depicted a structure which in all ways precisely illustrates the meaning of the Indian Epic. This structure is the so-called Talar, an open, many-storied platform serving as a support to the throne, in which the several floors are apparently upheld by sculptured hosts representing, in this case, the nations subject to the King of kings.<sup>1</sup> It is the most striking sculpture at Persepolis, as it embodies a conception of astounding boldness and of magnificently imperial pomp and pride. The bas-reliefs display this conception in pictorial form, and in the absence of tangible evidences it is not strange that Persian archaeologists have failed to follow so lofty a flight of the imperial Achæmenian mind, and have missed the actual existence at Persepolis of this Talar in structural form. Fergusson had the idea almost within his grasp, but he missed it by conceiving the Hall of a Hundred Columns to be merely a hall to support a Talar on its roof.<sup>2</sup> Even this conception has met with criticism, as partaking of the fanciful. But evidence has

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations cf. Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, p. 133, and again p. 176; Perrot & Chipiez, *History of Art in Persia* (Eng. trans.), p. 218, and again p. 396; Fergusson's *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 181, and again p. 124; Stolze & Andraea's *Persepolis*, vol. ii, pll. 106-8, and vol. i, pll. 59, 60. The plate in Perrot & Chipiez is perhaps the best.

<sup>2</sup> *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 180.

been found at last, for believing not alone that the roof of Darius's throne-room did indeed sustain such a Talar, but that, moreover, the whole "hall" itself was such a Talar, on a colossal scale. The architectural monstrosity of a hall covering fifty thousand square feet of area internally, with an estimated height of only 25 or 30 feet, and no means of lighting, thus gives way before an architectural conception of surpassing grandeur.

And when I state that the evidence on which this altered restoration of Darius's throne-room is based has come from the stratification of Pātalipttra, and that the first Indian example of those peculiar edifices described in the *Mahabharata* occurs among the palaces of Chandragupta Maurya at Kumrahar, which in other respects are described by the Greek historians in language almost identical with the *Mahābharata* account of Maya's works, I trust that I am justified in stating with some confidence that the Asura Maya of India is indeed a reflex of the great Ahura Mazda.

(To be continued.)



## A KHAROSTHI INSCRIPTION

By F. W. THOMAS

ON p. 111 of *Ariana Antiqua*, under the heading "Tope No. 13 of Hidda", we read as follows: "This tope is situated on the brink of a water-course, more than a mile from the village of Hidda. In our progress towards the centre we fell upon a small earthen jar, enclosing a stone wrapped in tuz-leaves. This simple deposit was perhaps the most useful that any of the many topes examined had yielded, for it was encompassed with a Bactro-Pali inscription, written with a pen, but very carelessly. Fearful that this testimony might become obliterated, or suffer in its journey from Kabul, I copied it at the time as well as I could, under the hope that, if necessary, a transcript would be serviceable." Other references to the same find may be seen on pp. 60, 113, and 258-9.

This was not the only occasion when Masson discovered in topes which he excavated fragments or rolls of tuz-leaves, as he calls them, meaning birch-bark (see pp. 59-60, 84, 94, 116 of the same work). In some cases the rolls or "twists" were inscribed with Kharosthi characters; and it is specially unfortunate that they proved too brittle for preservation, since they would have been undoubtedly the oldest surviving specimens of Indian MSS.

To the inscription on the jar my attention was first drawn some years ago by finding among the fragmentary papers of Masson in the India Office Library (doubtless remains of the material from which *Ariana Antiqua* was compiled by Wilson) a number of attempts at decipherment of one or two Kharosthi inscriptions. Among them are the Manikiala inscription and others which are quite

well known. Upon a re-examination about a year ago it appeared that there was one inscription which was not familiar, and I ultimately concluded that it had never been published. Although this was not the fact, it was not very far removed from fact: the actual publication was very imperfect, and, so far as I am aware, it has scarcely ever been noticed in print. An eye-copy (here reproduced) will be found, in fact, lithographed at the foot of the table of the "Arianian Alphabet" inserted opposite p. 262 of *Ariana Antiqua*. Its imperfection will appear upon comparison with the second photograph, which reproduces the most careful of Masson's copies together with his tentative decipherment: the superior exactness of the forms of the *akṣaras* in this second copy will in the light of our present knowledge escape no one. The eye-copy was mentioned in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1863 (p. 144) by Cunningham, who read the date, in part erroneously, and the word *dharma* in l. 2, and by Dowson in this Journal for 1863 (pp. 230-1).

The inscription is in two lines, and the real commencement is not as in the facsimile, but with the 12th and 6th *akṣaras* from the left ends of the two lines respectively. I read as follows:—

- l. 1. *sebatśaræ aṣṭarimātihi 20. 4. 4. nase ap (or pi)laræ steḥi dāśahṇi 10 iṣe chupammi prastita(ṭha ?)pita śarira [ra]ḥavantiṃti thubam saḥḥamitreṇa navakarmiṇa*
- l. 2. *ede(i ?)nu kaśalamule[na] eteṣa dharm(mm ?)aṣa lokika vija yaṣa dharm(mm ?)u khae badhoṣyeta śarira sarvaśutva(ā ?)ṣa viṛva(ā ?)masabharæ bhavatu rajasa a(?)gri(ggru ?)pracaṇya.*

That this reading presents a number of details open to discussion is sufficiently plain. And doubtless some points will remain uncertain, unless—which is not beyond the bounds of possibility—the *lar* itself should somewhere





come to light; it seems not to be in the Indian, or the British, Museum. In the meanwhile we may consider a few of the questionable matters.

1. *sebatīarae*. The vowel-sign over the *s* is, no doubt, an error in the copy: for the form *sambatīara* compare the Gondophares inscription and the Āra inscription of the year 40, edited by Banerji (*Indian Antiquary*, 1908, p. 58) and Lüders (Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1912, pp. 824-81).

2. *mase*. Read *māsa*, the *e* vowel being again due to error. Under the two *akṣaras* is a curved more or less horizontal line, of which nothing can be made. But for a second figure, which is attached to the bottom of the *ma*, a reason may be assigned. In the second line we miss after [*kaśala*] *mule* the *akṣara na*, of which the figure has the shape: it is therefore probable that the figure was really intended for this *akṣara*, and was a correcting insertion above the line.

3. *apilarsa*. The second copy has *ap<sup>o</sup>*.

4. *stehi*. In the second copy the reading is rather *daste*, or *naste*, due no doubt to a misreading of part of *ste* as *da*, or *na*; a third copy has clearly *stehi*.

5. *pratistat(hā ?)pita*. The second copy has *pratajasta(hā ?)pita*, and the published facsimile a slanting line, placed somewhat high up, following the *ti*. It seems probable that an original *h* (or *ḥ*) was misread as *ḥ*. On *sta* and *thā* see below (No. 18).

6. [*ra*] *jaraṃtīmi*. Some of the manuscript copies, including the second here reproduced, insert before *ja* a *ra*, which may be a mere dittograph of the last *akṣara* of *śarira*. But probably it was really present in the original, and the word should accordingly be *rujaraṃtīmi*.

7. *Saḡhammitreṇa navakarmīaṇa*. The two successive *na*'s appear to differ in shape, which suggests that the former should be read as *na*. The same form recurs in *chuṇami* and *arvaga*; probably every non-initial *na* should be *na* (see Dr. Konow in *Festschrift f. E. Windisch*, pp. 87-8). *Navakarmīaṇa* (read °*ena*) is possibly a misreading for °*karmikeṇa*.

8. 1. 2. *cid(i ?)na*. The *de* resembles rather *ru*. In *kaśala*° the vowel of *ka* has been overlooked.

9. *dharmaṇa*. The *akṣara* read as *rma* might equally well or even better, in both cases, be *ta*, or possibly *tu*. Here only the sense can decide. Concerning *na* see below (No. 18).



10. *lokika*. The facsimile is here quite unreliable, and the various manuscript copies diverge considerably. The photographed copies give *lobhibhu*, which would be *lokika*.

11. *yaṣa*. The *ṣa* is probably a misreading for *śo*, from which it differs only slightly.

12. *badhosyeta*. Here we are left to conjecture. The *ba* might possibly be *ta*; but one is strongly tempted to suppose an imperfect reproduction of *bodhisvata* = *bodhisattva*, a word which has now been found by Mr. Marshall in his new Taxilā inscription (*supra*, 1914, pp. 987 sqq.). The *e* in *sye* may be erroneous, as in *sebatśarae* and *mase* above.

13. *sarvasatva(ā?)ṇa*. In the facsimile we read something like *supamaṇa*, and the second copy has  $\cup\mathcal{Z}$ . Another copy has  $\mathcal{Z}\mathcal{Z}$ ; and, since the word required is not doubtful, I conclude that the original had  $\mathcal{U}$  = *tra* (or  $\mathcal{U}$  = *trā*; see below, No. 14).

14. *saḥharae*. No doubt *saṃbharae* would be a possible reading; but Masson read *ḥhara*, and the word *saṃbhāra*, "equipment," "means," gives a suitable sense. On *rā* see No. 18.

15. *agri(ggra?)pracaṃya*. For *a* the copies present an unintelligible form, which seems to contain a *y*. The *pra* might be *tip*, and the *caṃ* perhaps *raṃ*. We have a sufficiency of parallels to prove that the idea intended is that conveyed by the word *agrapratyamśa*, and we are free to choose between two suppositions: either there has been a misreading of *agrapracaṃśa* (confusion of *ya* and *śa* being easy), or the inscription had employed a synonym, possibly *agrapracaṃśa* = *agraprataṃśa*, in which the second member had the (rare) sense of "tribute", "share". On *aggra* see below (No. 18).

17. As regards the last double symbol in the facsimile, it plainly is a dittograph for the *la* which comes at the beginning of the line. Possibly it accounts for the missing *na* after *kusulamūle*.

18. The inscription being written with a pen, we are prepared to find in the forms of the characters resemblances to those of the early documents from Central Asia; and upon a reference to Professor Rapson's plate in the *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes* (i, p. 213) such resemblances, e.g. in the forms to *ti* (*vinṇaṇeti* and *yaṇeti*), will actually be

apparent. This emboldens me to recognize an *d* in the horizontal stroke attached to the right of *rr* and *tv* in l. 2 (Nos. 13, 14 above) and perhaps to *thā* in l. 1 (No. 5 above). The mark is indeed differently placed and is also not slanting; but we might expect variation in detail. A reference to the same plate and p. 221 will explain the alternative *rma* and *nma* in No. 9; on *aggra* (No. 15) see *Epigraphia Indica*, ix, p. 142.

Accordingly, inserting marks of vowel length and anusvaris and normalizing the nasals we arrive at the following reading and interpretation of the inscription

1. 1. *sa[m]butāsrre a[t]tharimśātīhi 20. 4. 4. masa*  
*Apelāe[s]sa stchi dāśāhi[m] 10 iśe chunammi pra*  
*ti[t]tha(sta) pita[m] śrīra[m] rajarampī[m]ma*  
*thāba[m]mi Sa[m]ghamutrena navakarmena*  
 1 2 *elena kuśalamulena elasa[m] dharmama[m]*  
*lokka - vijja - yaso - dharma - khue bodhisatta-*  
*sacca[m] sariyasattva[m] nerranasambharac*  
*bhavatu cāpa[s]sa agrapracaṇḍa[m].*

In the year 28, on the 10th day of the month Appellaios on that date was enshrined a relic in the *stupa* Rājavat (in a royal stupa) by the *navakarmika* Saṃghamitta. Through this store of good works, in the lapse of these qualities worldly knowledge, glory, and merit, may the relic of the Bodhisattva be a provision for Nivana, and may a principal share [of the merit thereof] fall to the king."

The tenor of the inscription being for the most part common form, and the king's name being unmentioned, the interest is here concentrated in the date. That the era employed is the same as that exemplified in the Wardak inscription of the year 51 (now edited by Mr. F. E. Pargiter in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xi, pp. 202 sqq.) will hardly be contested; and this is, of course, the era of the reign of Kaniška. Accordingly,

this record furnishes evidence for the rule of the Kaniṣka dynasty in Hidda, a place about 5 miles to the south of Jalalabad, in the 28th year of their era.

Concerning the language of the inscription the following points may be noticed :—

1. The spelling is, as is characteristic of Kushan inscriptions, highly Sanskritic: thus (a) the three sibilants are distinguished; (b) there is no loss of single intervocalic consonants, except that *yu* and *ye* appear as *e* (thus *apelaca* = *apelāyasa*) and intervocalic *bh* as *h*—even *j* is preserved; (c) intervocalic tenues are not softened to mediae, except in the case of *thūba* (which occurs also in the Wardak inscription and may go back to a by-form \**stumba*) and in *edena*; (d) conjunct consonants are not assimilated, except in the case of *ṣt* > *tṭh*, *kṣ* > *ch*, *ṣṭh* > *tṭh*, *st* > *tth*, *dy* > *jj*, *ty* = *cc*, i.e. in cases involving a sibilant or *y*.

2. In declension and conjugation there is nothing with which we are not familiar from other similar inscriptions. This applies, for example, to the double locative singular (in *-e* and *-ammi*), the locative (· instrumental) plural in *-hi*, and the verbal form *bharatu* (instead of *hotu*).

3. As regards the form *narakarmena* (if the actual reading should not be *'karmikena*), I am not prepared to admit a loss of intervocalic *k*. The matter is somewhat interesting, as it exemplifies a rather widespread phenomenon, namely, an apparent early disappearance of suffixal *k*. This is instanced in the Mathura inscriptions (see the edition in *Epigraphia Indica*, ix, p. 188), the Māyikālā inscription (*Karūyasa*), and elsewhere. As there is no reason to presuppose for *k* in this position a special destiny, it seems probable that the forms go back to a type which was without the *k*, i.e. had for its suffix *ya* and not *ka*: thus *māhāsāṃghiya* is not derived from an earlier *māhāsāṃghika*, but is a parallel, and in type a more ancient, form. To this type belongs also *aṭṭhabhāgiya*: in the case of forms with a preceding vowel other than *i* (e.g. *poṭhaya* = *prauṣṭhaka*) we may recognize the influence of analogy. On this subject we may refer to Professor Lüders' remarks in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte* for 1918 (*Epigraphische Beiträge*, iii), p. 991.

## VIII

### NOTES ON THE EDICTS OF ASOKA

By F. W. THOMAS

#### 7. MUKHA—DĀNAMUKHA

THE phrase *ete ca aṃṣe ca bahukā mukhā dānavisagasi vyāpatā* = *ete ca anye ca bahukā mukhā* (masc.) *dānavisarge vyāptāḥ*, occurring in Pillar Edict VII-VIII, 6, is rendered by M. Senart "these functionaries and others are my intermediaries: it is they who are occupied with the distribution of my alms . . ." (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, ii, p. 97), and it is explained (pp. 91-2) that the employment of the word *mukha* is similar to that of *dvāra* in the sense of "means" (separate Orissa Edicts, i, 3).

Bühler, in his edition of the Pillar Edicts (*Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 245 sqq.), adopts the translation "both these and many other chief officials are occupied with the distribution of gifts" (p. 272), suggesting in a note that *mukha* either has itself the sense (given in the lexicons) of "chief" or stands for the adjective *mukhya*, of which that is the ordinary denotation.

There are certain passages in the *Arthashastra* which suggest a modification of these views; they are as follows:—

(1) c. 22, p. 57:

इत्थञ्चरथपादातमनेकमुखमवस्थापयेत् । अनेकमुखं हि परस्परमथापरोक्षाय नोपैतीति ॥

"Let him station elephants, horse, chariots, and foot under a plural leadership: for with plural leadership they are through mutual fear not liable to disaffection from outside."

This passage might be held to confirm the opinion of Bühler, since we actually appear to have the word *mukhya* in the required sense. But other passages will correct this impression.

(2) c. 27, p. 70 :

**बहुमुखमनित्वा बाधिकरकं कापयेत् ।**

"Let him (the king) arrange his officials' functions under many heads and as non-permanent."

The sense of "leader" is here still possible, but less persuasive.

(3) c. 34, p. 98 :

**सभूमिजानां राजपयजानामेकमुखं व्यवहारं कापयेत् । परभूमि-  
जानामेकमुखम् ॥**

"The traffic in home-produced royal merchandise he (the superintendent) should place under a single head; that in foreign under several."

(4) Ibid. :

**पक्षाधिपतारः पक्षमूकमेकमुखं काष्ठोक्तमेकच्छिद्रापिधा-  
नाया निदधुः ।**

"Let the superintendents of merchandise deposit the price realized by the merchandise in a single amount in a wooden vessel having one hole in the cover."

In the last passage it is clear that *mukha* means "head" in the sense not of "leader", but of "heading" or "sum"; and it is highly probable that the same sense should be recognized in the preceding passage also. This suggests further that in the two preceding instances the compounds *bahumukhya* and *anekamukhya* (if we are not actually to read *bahumukha* and *anekamukha*) are not to be resolved simply into *bahu* + *mukhya* and *aneka* + *mukhya* respectively, but should be regarded as derived by the *ya* suffix from *bahumukha* and *ekamukha* (naturally without alteration of meaning). In the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, ii, 203, where the phrase **यूतमेकमुखं कार्यं** is explained by the *Mitākṣarā* as meaning that "the gaming should be placed under a single head official", *mukhya* would, of course, be metrically unsuitable.

The exact force of *mukha* in relation to accounts may best be realized by taking note of its correlative, which

is *śrīra*. Thus, in the *Arthashastra* (c. 14, p. 60) the various sources of revenue are detailed with the addition **रत्नावलीरम्** "these are the body of revenue", and then a few headings are summed up by the phrase **रत्नावलुबम्** "these are the heads of revenue"; similarly we have *vyayaśrīra*. It may accordingly be suggested that, when Aśoka says that his bounties are superintended by many "faces" (*mukha*), he does not mean exactly "many leaders" or "many intermediaries", but simply that the work should be in "many departments" or under many different officials.<sup>1</sup>

The word *dānamukha* has been carefully discussed by M. Senart (*Journal Asiatique*, sér. VIII, tom. xv, pp. 131-4), who has cited the numerous inscriptions where it occurs. M. Senart remarks that it does not appear to be employed in conjunction with the name of the object given (as in *dānam thorbho*, etc.), but that otherwise he observes no distinction in meaning from *dāna* simply. Since the expression is found in inscriptions upon objects to which it refers (e.g. the Bimārān vase and the Māpikiāla cylinder), as well as possibly otherwise (e.g. in the inscriptions of the years 68 and 102 and in those of Zeda and Shakardarra), we cannot suppose the meaning to be "representative" of the gift (which itself might be elsewhere). Hence it seems best to recognize a mere synonym for *dāna*, a misapplication of a technical term, "gift department," "gift heading," "gift account," under which the donation would be recorded in the accounts of the institution benefited. Or is it, after all, the inscription itself?

#### 8. PALIGODHA--PALIRODHA

In Rock-Edict V the phrase *dhammamahāmātā . . . dhammayutānam apalibodhāye viyāpatā* is presented

<sup>1</sup> An analogous meaning may suit *Śikṣasamuccaya*, p. 335, l. 14 :

**एवमु धर्ममुखातु चनेका धर्ममुखानवमुदि चनेन ।**

and *Abhidhammapiṭakāya*, ix, 6, *vinayakamukhāni*.

by the different versions with several variations, as follows:—

- Girnar: . . . *dharmayutdham aparigodhaya* (see M. Senart in *J. As.* viii, xli, p. 815) . . .  
 Khabsi: . . . *dharmayutāye apalibodhāye* . . .  
 Shahbazgarhi: . . . *dharmayutasa apalibodhe* . . .  
 Mansehra: . . . *dharmayuta* (or *ṭasa*) *apalibodhaya* . . .  
 Dhauli: . . . *dharmayutāye apalibodhāye* . . .

M. Senart (i, p. 143) translates "to remove all obstacles in the way of the faithful of the true religion", and Bühler (ZDMG. xxxvii, p. 269, *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, p. 468) "with the removal of obstacles among my loyal ones".

The meaning assigned to *apalibodha*, "absence of obstacles," is held (Senart i, p. 127, ii pp. 137-8) to be justified by the expression *akasmāpalibodha* "arbitrary obstacles, i.e. imprisonment" in separate Edict I of Dhauḥ and Jaugada, and by the employment of the word *palibodha* in the Pali canon where it is not uncommon. To the variant *aparigodha* Bühler does not call attention, but M. Senart had already remarked upon it and had pointed to the confirmation furnished by the *aparigodha[ya]* of Shahbazgarhi. Although this confirmation is removed by the later and more correct readings of *palibodha*, Senart (*Journ. Asiatique* xiii xi 526, xiv xi 141) (cf. Bühler) M. Senart's caution against supposing a mere miswriting in the Girnar version must be observed, for the word *palibodha* is not found without a meaning in the *Mahāvastu* (ii 24, 122). It therefore demands a discussion.

The form *paligodha* does not seem to occur in any texts as at present edited. But it has been preserved to us, along with the partly explanatory text in the Buddhist Sanskrit works excerpted by Śākyabuddhi

his *Sikṣāsamuccaya* (ed. Bendall in *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, i, St. Petersburg, 1897-1902). I cite the passages :—

(1) p. 50, ll. 14-15 : *Sāgarasūtra* :

तं बोधिसत्त्वं विसावुत्तपन्निवोपे विबोधयन्ति, विसावुत्तं बोधि-  
वन्निवावन्ने करवीचन् ।

"They engage that Bodhisattva in the desire [or distraction] of service (or 'business'). service is indispensably to be undertaken by a Bodhisattva."

(2) p. 100, ll. 3-4 *Sarvulharmāpravrṭtīnirdeśa*

बुद्धधर्माभिमुखेन भवितव्यं रात्रिर्दिवं धर्मपणिमुत्तमानयेन ।

"He must be earnest in the law of Buddha, with a mind day and night desirous of the law."

(3) p. 105 ll. 12-13 *Adhyasatyaśampeṇḍana sūtra*

बहुपन्नोधपणिमुत्तो . . . काममत्कारः ।

'Respect to acquisition . . . is full of the desire of many desires (or 'anxiety of many anxieties')

(4) [p. 108-9] the same text

जनोरवो भोति सदा मुक्ता पन्नोधमपि रतिं वनिता ।

'He becomes ever disrespectful of elders, having developed a pleasure in the incantations of desire (or 'self assertion')

(5) p. 186, l. 10 *Sāgarasūtra*

कामाहारपणिमुत्तं धर्मानमुत्तवतो

Who, having heeded dharma, being greedy for (or 'distracted by') the life of desire "

(6) p. 249, ll. 8-9 *Pitaputrasamāgama* :

एव बाह्ये ऽपि यदस्फुटमस्यारब्धं रूपमतेनापणिमुत्तं सुखरभाव-  
स्त्रिद्वयमुत्तं बाह्यं चाकाशधातुः ।

So in the case of external things also what is unstruck, unstruckable, not disturbed by what is connected with colour, penetrable with the nature of a hollow, that is called the external ether substance."

In some passages the implication of desire is self-evident and it suggests at once an etymology connecting



the word with the root *grdh*. It does not take us long to discover that the word *parigṛddha* actually occurs with identical meaning in the *Dīpavamsa* (p. 351. ll. 9-10):—

अहं तावद्गृहावासे परिकृद्धो विषयाभिरतय ।

"Now I am keenly desirous of home life and attached to the world."

*Paliguddha* is accordingly a Prakrit aspect of *parigṛddha*; and, since the normal noun from the root *grdh* is *gaddha*, *paligaddha* is a reformation upon the basis of *paliguddha*.

What, then, of the Pali *paligedha*? For this form also, with the meaning "omnivorous greed", is offered by the *Dhammasaṅgāsi* (with *gedha*, 1059, 1136, and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, p. 277). If we were tempted here to suspect a misreading, we should at once be restrained by the fact that the *Mahāvīryūtpatti* supplies a correct Buddhist Sanskrit equivalent in *parigṛddha*. No doubt, the participle *paligiddha* will sooner or later come to light.<sup>1</sup> But we have already sufficient evidence to convince us that the history of the words with which we are dealing is truly represented by the following scheme:—

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{parigṛddha} \rightarrow \text{paliguddha} \rightarrow \text{paligedha} \\ \phantom{\text{parigṛddha}} \searrow \phantom{\rightarrow} \text{paligiddha} \rightarrow \text{paligeiha} \end{array}$$

Linguistically this history presents a point of interest: for it shows that under some circumstances the change of *r* to *i* or *u* respectively was not due to the neighbourhood of a guttural (or labial), as has sometimes been thought but is originally a matter of dialect.

The existence of the word *paligeiha* being thus amply evidenced, it remains to inquire concerning its appropriateness in the phrase of the Edict. Now we must take note of the fact that the word *dharmaṃyukto* = *dharmaṃyukta* has been shown to denote, not "the faithful of the true religion" or "my loyal ones", but "the

<sup>1</sup> The uncompounded *giddha* is, of course, known.

officials of the *dharmā* (or ecclesiastical) department" (*Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, pp. 20 sqq.; *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 467; 1913, pp. 387-91; accepted by Professor Jandera in his article *Epigraphische Beiträge*, iii, p. 995 = *Berlin Sitzungsber. etc.*, 1913, No. liii). The phrase *dharmaguttoram apalipodhaya*, "with a view to absence of greed (or self-seeking) on the part of the *dharmā*-officials," will be seen upon inspection to be quite unexceptionable.

This, however, is not all: it appears also that the sense of "absence of obstacles" is no longer appropriate: and this reminds us further of the difficulty of explaining how the meaning "obstacle", which is indeed supported by the Pali Dictionary, became attached to the word *palibodha*, a compound of *buddh*, "to be aware," with the preposition *pari*. We might find an intermediary in "circumspection", "caution"; but an examination of various passages suggests another course. In Faustsöll's edition of the *Jātaka*, vol. ii, p. 95, the sentence

*Sivattthiyam kira pañcamā upāsakā ghara- (or gharāḍsa-)  
palibodham puttadārassa niyyādetvā Satthu dhamma-  
desanam supantā ekato va vicaranti*

clearly means that

"In Śrāvastī five hundred *upāsakas*, having devolved upon their children and wives the cares of home (or of 'home life'), spent their time away listening to the Master's exposition of *dharma*".

Further, in the *Nettīpakarṇa* (ed. Hardy, p. 80), the sentence *yuttha punabbhavo, tuttha palibodho yuttha palibodho, tuttha pariyaṭṭhanam* seems well to bear the rendering "where rebirth is, there is anxiety, where anxiety is, there is exertion". Accordingly it is with a sense of conviction that we find a Burmese scholar, who would have a traditional feeling for the proper nuance of meaning, rendering *palibodha* simply by "worldly cares" (*Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy, Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, tr. Schwe Zan Aung, 1910, p. 53).

This is not, however, by any means the whole story. A comparison of the passages in the *Vinaya* which exhibit the compound *palibodha* will show the following development of meaning: (1) "reflection", *palibodho vinicchayaṭṭhāya* (Parivāra, xii, 2; cf. Pāc. lxvi, 1, lxxxiv, 1, Bhikṣi-Pāc. vii, 1?); (2) "respect of some extraneous consideration" = Skt. *apekṣā*, hence "obstacle", *kaṇṭhi palibodho hoti* (Pāc. xv, 2, xlix, 2); (3) "respect of something wanting" = Skt. *akāṅkṣā*, hence "claim", *varuṇeyyāṃ palibuddhanti* (Cull. vi, 10, 2, Pāc. xvi, 1), or "title", *atramipalibodha* (Mahāv. vii, 13; cf. Rhys Davids, *Vinaya Texts*, ii, p. 157 n., and note in the passage the occurrence of the words *sāpekkho* and *āsā*, "expectation").

Unfortunately, the new renderings "absence of anxiety", etc., for *apalibodha* seems to apply to the passage under consideration hardly<sup>1</sup> more satisfactorily than does the meaning "absence of obstacles"; and this is the more noticeable as in the following (adjacent) phrase, *baṇḍha-nabaddhasa paṭividdhāya apalibodhaya mokhāya*, it is quite appropriate; it is again appropriate in the separate Orissa Edict i, where *akasmāpalibodha*, "unnecessary anxiety," and *akasmāpalikilesa*, "unnecessary distress," are deprecated in dealings of officials with the people of the city—the people are not to be "disquieted or distressed", but there is to be a regularity of lawful administration (*samaya*). Shall we, then, suppose that the Girnar text, which correctly employs the two similar words in close conjunction, has been exceptionally faithful to the author's meaning, whereas in the other versions the *apalibodha* has been assimilated to the contiguous *apalibodha*? Or must we ascribe a confusion of the two words to the author himself, and by consequence to the usage of his time? That the latter supposition has something in its favour will appear from a reinspection

<sup>1</sup> In view of the fact that a few lines above the satisfaction (*ātumāṇā*) of the *dhammapaṭi* is contemplated, we might indeed make *apalibodha* here "absence of cause of discontent".

of the passages already cited and of certain others. The facts may be illustrated in a tabular form :—

<i>grāhāse p. rigidīho</i> (Divyāv.),	<i>arasapalibodho</i> (Vinaya).
<i>avasmāc kari drāsapaligedho</i>	<i>gharavāsapalibodha</i> (Jātaka).
(v.l. is <i>hī</i> ), <i>kulam., kṛtāp.</i>	<i>kule gane labhe dāse palibodho</i> (Milindapañho, p. 388).
( <i>Angut. Nik. i. 66</i> ).	
<i>bhūtapalig. bhapaṅguddho . . .</i>	
<i>labhasatīārāḥ</i> (Śikṣās.),	
<i>kāma-rāg . . . vinvesa-vinibandha-pa-gedha-pariyutthana</i>	<i>yattha punabbhavo, tatthapalibodho, yattha palibodho, tattha pariyutthana</i> (Netti-pakarāṇa).
( <i>Angut. Nik. i. 66</i> ).	
<i>yad . . . rūpagatēnāpaliguddham . . . ayam ucyate</i>	<i>ākāso aloggo asatto appatutthito apalibuddho</i>
<i>bāhya ākāśadhātuh</i> (Śikṣā-samuccaya).	(Milindapañho, p. 388).

These parallels show an extensive similarity of application in regard to the two words, sufficient to excuse the inditer of the edict, if he failed to distinguish them. But still there are certain considerations to be set on the other side. It will be observed that the Pali, in which the similarity of the two words is less overpowering (*paligedha* and *palibodha*), perhaps does not confuse them; for the sense of "desire" or "greed" it reserves the former, while the latter is confined to that of "trouble", "anxiety", or "claim". It is only in the Buddhist Sanskrit that the ether is called "free from greed", whereas in the Pali it remains "untroubled", "calm". The confusion, therefore, is on the side of the dialects which change *r* to *u*, and could not be ascribed to the writer of the original Māgadhi text. If, therefore, the confusion was realized (as appears) at Shahbazgarhi and Mansbura, we do not find it unnatural (even irrespective of the similarity of *go* and *bo* in the Kharoṣṭhi script); while its absence at Girnar is all to the credit of that careful text and scarcely consonant with a supposition of the original author's error. How, then,

are we to account for its presence at Kharsi and Deuli? Here, perhaps, we may reflect that it is inadvisable to know too much; but at least we may remark that the misunderstanding is in these two cases more extensive than elsewhere, since it has metamorphosed also the preceding *dharmagutānam* into *dharmagutaye*, a sufficient indication that the sense of the passage was not understood.

On the whole the probability seems to be that the original text is best represented by the Girnar version.

Regarding the form *paligodha* we have taken note of a point of linguistic interest. A second matter of the same nature arises in connexion with the two words jointly. In both we have evidence of the *l* (for *r*) outside the Magadhi sphere, namely, at Shahbazgarhi and Manshira. This reminds us of the fact that an affinity between an Indian *l* and the gutturals and labials there (*g* and *b*) is a familiar idea to comparative philologists. A more general interest attaches to the fact that Buddhism has in *palibodha* a technical expression for the cares of the world, which Christianity deprecates under the term *μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶρος*.

We have now spent perhaps sufficient time in the company of *paligodha* and *palibodha*; but the reader will admit that a rather large and complicated history lay behind the variation of a consonant in the Girnar text.<sup>7</sup>

#### 9. ĀSVĀSA—VĪŚVASIKA

The words last discussed may remind us that the idea of "comfort", "composure", "freedom from anxiety" plays a considerable part in the Buddhist system. Thus the *Anguttara-nikāya* expounds (i, pp. 192-3) a group

<sup>7</sup> Darbishire, *Reliquie Philologiques* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 216-217; Weckermann, *Altind. Grammatik*, p. 221.

<sup>8</sup> The reading *paligodha* was defended by Pischel, *GLA.* 1881, 1330, and Michelson, *JACS.* xxvi, 244 (also Johansson, see ref. supra) on the basis of a derivation from *palik* or *pāl*.

of four *assasas*, and in another passage (iv, pp. 184-5) it is emphatically said—

*aham i Sīha assasathe paramena assasena assasāya  
dhaṇam dāsema, teva ca sarake vinemi.*

"For I, Sīha, being composed with the uttermost composure, teach a *dharma* leading to composure, and therein I train my disciples."

So in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (ii, p. 50)—

*na hi nāna so āyasmā imasmim dhammavinaye assaṇṇa  
alatthāsi.*

"For surely His Reverence has not in this *dharma*-training acquired a composed confidence."

In this latter passage we seem to detect a tendency to a transition from the idea of composure to the quite proximate conception of "settled conviction".

In the Edicts of Aśoka, where forms from the verb *āśras-* are several times recorded (see M. Senart's index), I do not trace any technical application: the synonym *anondriṇa*, "undisquieted," occurring in the vicinity, remains in the same sphere of ideas. But it is perhaps worth while to notice that another compound of *śras*, namely, *viśras-* (*viśrasay-*), is employed in the Sarnāth Edict (ed. Professor J. Ph. Vogel in *Epigraphia Indica*, viii, pp. 166-72, esp. 170) with the meaning of producing familiarity, or certainty, in regard to a document.

Inscriptions of other provenance give evidence of a special application of a term derived from *viśras-*. This is *viśrasika*, which is several times found (see Professor Luders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*—supplement to *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. x—index) as the name of an official in the Buddhist order. Do we here recognize a general or a special sense? Is the *viśrasika* an expounder of texts, a confirmer of faith? Or is his office simply that of consoling persons in trouble?<sup>1</sup> Against

<sup>1</sup> The former sense suits better the compound with *vi*; and in both cases the *ś* needs explanation.

the former supposition we may set the fact that the business of instruction would more probably belong to another official, who is entitled *dharmakathika*, "expounder, or narrator, of dharma." If we hesitate to believe that the Buddhist order appointed a special brother to administer consolation, it is opportune to remember that *śokavinodana*, "dispelling sorrow," was the topic of a class of writings—an example exists in the Tanjur, ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa; in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa the Buddhist recluse *Divākaramitra* is implored to console the widowed and afflicted princess Rājyaśrī *sumucitāḥ sumāśvāsanaḥ*, "with the customary consolations," called also in another passage *śokāpātayānopāya*, "He will guide our pious sister into the path of wisdom by the good words of Sugata, which pierce the mists of sorrow, and by his own wise counsels, illustrated with apt examples and weighty with various sacred texts" (Translation, p. 245). The ascetic subsequently (pp. 254-7) complies in a pathetic address. We may remember that in Latin also we have the *Consolatio*, based, no doubt, upon some Greek model.

An interesting discussion might be made concerning minor literary species in Sanskrit which are hardly noticed in the histories of the literature. But I must surrender the subject to Professor Lüders, who, I understand, has long had in manuscript an article dealing with it, and to whom, indeed, the first recognition of the Sanskrit *śokavinodana*, or *Consolatio*, is due (ZDMG. lviii, pp. 707-14). We may, however, instance the Epistle (e.g. the *Suhr̥llekha* of Nāgārjuna), the letter (*lekha*), the Friend's Counsel (*Hilopadeśa* in Sanskrit and—a quite different type—in Pali), and a species of the latter, the address of advice and exhortation to the young (an example in the *Kādambarī*, ed. Peterson, i, pp. 102 sqq., translation by Miss Ridding, pp. 76 sqq.; also the parody.

## 10. SAṂSARAṆA

In the Sārnāth Edict discovered by Mr. Oertel and excellently edited in *Epigraphia Indica* (viii, pp. 166-72) by Professor Vogel the sentence

*hedisā ca ikā lipi tūphakam̐tikam̐ hurā ti saṁsalanasi  
nikhita*

has been translated as follows :—

"Not only has such an edict been laid down (by me) for you that you should remember 'So be it!'"

Here the word *saṁsalana* has been, with the concurrence of Professor Kern and Dr. Bloch, regarded as equivalent to *saṁsmṛatva*, "remembrance," an equation to which in itself no objection can be taken. Nor, again, is there anything not consonant with Sanskrit style in the expression "deposited, or laid up (*nikṣipta*), in memory".

What first arouses a suspicion is the use of the words *hedisā ikā lipi*, "an edict like this," which seems to denote a second copy of the edict; and this suspicion is confirmed by the immediately succeeding sentence—

*ikam̐ eva lipim̐ hedisam̐ eva upāsakānam̐tikam̐ nikhipātha.*

"And an exactly similar edict you are to deposit in the vicinity of the *upāsakas*."

For clearly the rendering "But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members" disregards not only the *ikam̐ . . . hedisam̐ eva*, but also the meaning of *am̐tikam̐*, and is inappropriate to the status of *upāsaka*.

This is really decisive: the *saṁsalana* must be a place, and the Edict is to be deposited, or set up, therein. It remains to inquire what evidence can be found as to the fact and as to the character of the locality. Naturally we turn to the *Vinaya*, and we are not long in finding (*Cullavagga*, vi, 3. 4, pp. 152-3, of vol. ii of Professor Oldenberg's edition of the *Vinaya*) a passage dealing



with *natūcas*, "bed," *pīṭhas*, "chairs,"<sup>1</sup> *ālindas*, "terraces" *praghāṇas*, "vestibules," in the Vihāra and ending—

*tena kho pana samayena vihāra anālindakā honti apatis-  
raṇā . bhagavato etam attham āroccesum . anujānāmi  
bhikkhave ālindam paghanam pakutaṃ osarakam ti .  
ālindā pakatā honti, bhikkhū hiriyaṃti nipajjitum,  
anujānāmi bhikkhave sammāpakkatitikaṃ ugghāṭana-  
kikkhaṃ ti.*

"At that time, again, the Vihāras were without terraces, without approaches (?). They reported the matter to the Blessed One. I allow, Bhikkhus, terrace, vestibule, antechambers, and covered ways. The terraces are public, the Bhikkhus are ashamed to lie down. I allow, Bhikkhus, those made with *samsarapas*, made with doors (?)."

What the *samsarapa* does not clearly appear;<sup>2</sup> but in connexion with the terrace (*ālinda*), we are naturally reminded of the *samosarapas* of the Jain Tirthamkaras, which are illustrated and considered in Dr. Hüttemann's "Miniaturen zum Jinacarita" (*Buessler Archiv*, iv. 2, 1913) and in Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's "Notes on Jaina Art" (*Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, xvi. No. 127, 1914). Indeed, the word *samosarapa* is given by the *Mahāvīryapatti* (223. 93) next to *praghāṇa*.

The etymology would suggest a place for walking about: a lobby. But then our thoughts turn to the *encleract*, or walk, which in the case of Buddha is figured at Sānchi as a triangular promenade.<sup>3</sup> Whether students of architecture would be prepared to admit the possibility of Asiatic connexions with our ecclesiastical edifices, I am not in a position to say—the researches of M. Foucher and the Central Asian discoveries have of late years opened out

<sup>1</sup> I had almost omitted the *blāṇkhitā*, "peg in the wall," the *śrāvaka*, "loop for the *civara*," and even the *civaraṇṇas*, "peg for the *civara*," quasi "hat and coat stand".

<sup>2</sup> In Sanskrit the dictionaries give the sense of "main street."

<sup>3</sup> See M. Foucher's *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, etc., pp. 93-4

many new possibilities. But an analogy at least may be seen in the cloisters of our churches and colleges.

It will be observed that in the *śaṣṭhāyāna* is deposited only the monk's copy of the edict, the first sentence relating expressly to a Saṅgha of Bhikṣus (in Pāṭaliputra). For the *Upāsakas*, who presumably are not regarded as living in the Vihāra, or at any rate as using the *śaṣṭhāyāna*, facilities for seeing the edict are to be provided elsewhere.

Accordingly, the following translation may be proposed: "In order that a similar edict may be within your reach, it has been deposited in the *śaṣṭhāyāna*. Do you also deposit a similar edict within reach of the *Upāsakas*."

This same edict contains two other points of interest. The first concerns the disrobbing of the schismatic brother and giving him two white robes (*adāṭani dāṣṭani*) in place of the monk's yellow. This practice having already been evidenced from the Pali by Professor Neumann (*Digha*, trans. ii, p. 243; cf. *Culla*, v, 21, 2), we need not dwell upon it here.

The second point is in connexion with the interpretation of the words *vivasaṅgātha* and *vivasapagātha*. I find a difficulty in following the editor and others in holding that these pronouncedly causative forms "can hardly have a causative meaning". In the almost identical sentence of the Rāṣṭrāth Edict the form employed is a non-causative *vivasāṅgāya*. The word is one which enjoys a high prestige for difficulty, and to which, since doubts are still entertained by some scholars, I trust to be able to recur in a further instalment of these notes.

In this particular edict, however, there seem to be grounds for a clear decision. For what is the sole subject of the rescript? Expulsion from the Saṅgha, we answer, on grounds of schism, and publication of the decree to that effect. How, then, is the matter introduced? "Whoso, Bhikṣu or Bhikṣuṇī, divides the Saṅgha, he is to be arrayed in bright robes and—*andāṭāsi andāṣiye*—made

to dwell in a place which is not a residence (of monks, *dudea*).” When we meet the verb *viṇṣay* at the end, after an interval of a few lines, can we resist concluding the edict (partly in agreement with Dr. Bloch) as follows?—

*dvatake ca taphākam dhāle savata viṇṣayātha tapha etena viyaṇjanena. Hem - eva savesu koṣaṇisavesu etena viyaṇjanena viṇṣapayāthā.*

“As far as your administration extends, you are everywhere upon this intimation and without further orders, cf. JRAS 1911, p. 391 to expel. Likewise in all the districts of the forts [of local chiefs, whose intermediacy accounts for the double causative *viṇṣapay* you are upon this intimation to require expulsion.”

#### II. PRADEŚIKA AGAIN

In our discussion of the word *pradeśika* which was regarded as a synonym of *pradeśa* some reflection was occasioned by the long *a* for which two alternative explanations were propounded. It must be confessed that we have overlooked the simplest and most satisfactory of all. The form is derived from *pradeśa* but from *pradeśa* in the sense not of district but of report. We may again cite the *Arthashastra* :

वेदेहकचक्रानो वा सार्वप्रमाण राज्ञः प्रेषयेत् । तेन प्रदेशेन राज्ञा  
मुक्त्वाध्यक्षस्य सार्वप्रमाणमुपदिशेत् ॥ १०१ ॥ १११

Or one disguised as a trader should send the  
extent of the caravan. Such his  
should inform the superior of  
extent of the caravan.

The analogy of the expression *pradeśika* is  
clearly apparent of the preceding text to the  
the reader. *Pradeśika* is therefore a synonym  
in the same way as *pradeśika* is a synonym  
is a matter of date and secondary form.

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### THE BUSHELL PLATTER OR THE TSIN HOU PAN

No excuse need be offered for further consideration of the ancient bronze in the Victoria and Albert Museum which is known as the Bushell Bowl, for there is a great lack of information on the subject of Chinese bronzes, and anything that is written concerning this particular object is likely to help in supplying the deficiency. Professor Giles has pointed out the misnomer by which a platter (*pan*) has come to be known as a bowl. It is not too late to make the necessary correction as I have done at the head of this article, and it is desirable that future writers should give the correct English name to this *pan*.

My reason for writing concerning this platter is that during the winter of 1912-13 in Peking, while searching in an old book-store on Lin-li Chang, I came across a rubbing which I found to be one of the Bushell platter. As far as could be remembered by the owner of the store, this rubbing came into his hands through the late Yang Li shan, a well-known connoisseur of a generation ago and the intimate friend of Dr. Bushell. Mr. Yang was a Metropolitan official, a rare scholar and an authority much in demand by the collectors of Peking. He had the entrée into the palaces of the Princes and was also sought by the Imperial Household Department in the classification of art treasures. He was a close friend of Prince I, and it was doubtless through him that Bushell secured this platter. Prince I was a careful collector of bronzes and pictures, and has left behind him a reputation for keenness in detecting frauds. I have seen three pictures which belonged to him and they were of genuine merit. He did not have a large collection of antique bronzes, and they

are now all scattered, Tuan Fang having secured a few of them, which I have seen. This small number of things from the collection of Prince I which has come to my notice has confirmed in my mind the truth of the opinion usually expressed in Peking art circles concerning the good judgment and careful habits of selection of Prince I. This platter, then, was owned by Prince I, a collector of good repute, it was known to Mr. Yang, a keen critic (even if, indeed, it was not sold through Mr. Yang to Dr. Bushell), and it passed into the Museum through Dr. Bushell, who is remembered as a cautious and well-informed connoisseur. These facts give strong presumptive evidence as to the intrinsic value of the platter and also as to its being in reality what Bushell claimed it to be.

The rubbing which I obtained is very clear. I have also a rubbing of the inscription of the San Shih Pan, a platter which is one of the most famous pieces now remaining in the Peking Palace (see *JRAS.*, April, 1912, p. 447). This platter of the San family is the best example of a bronze vessel of this shape of undisputed antiquity. A detailed comparison of the rubbings of these two platters could not fail to be instructive, but my present purpose is restricted only to a notice of the style and peculiarities of the characters of an inscription which is admitted by all critics to have been cast and not incised.

Professor Giles in *Adversaria Sinica*, No. 9, p. 293, has given a translation of a passage from the Tung T'ien Ching Lu of the thirteenth century as found in the Tu Shu Chi Ch'eng. Another slightly different version of what was evidently a common original has been published in vol. v of the *Encyclopedia of Fine Arts* — Mei Shu Tsung Shu—under the heading Ku Tung Chi Kao (An Examination of Ancient Bronzes). I had made a translation of this for my own use before seeing that of Professor

Giles, and I will quote from my own translation. As to the two types of inscription—k'uan and chi—the author says, "the lines were fine like hairs and were even, regular and distinct, without a trace of being blurred. The characters were rounding like the surface of inverted tiles. They were not bold or deep. Both large and small characters had a uniform depth. . . . If vessels are now found with inscriptions blurred or cast in an irregular mould, these are the work of amateurs or imitators." A comparison of the inscriptions of the two platters shows at once that the inscription of the San Shih Pan agrees in every particular with the above standard of correct ancient bronzes, and that the inscription of the Tsin Hou Pan has many of the faults which should place it in the class of work done by "amateurs or imitators". The edges of many characters of the Tsin Hou Pan are rough, though this has been the result sometimes of recent attempts to remove extraneous matter from the surface in the hope of being able more easily to decipher the characters. The inscription is blurred in many places, there is an irregular depth of the characters, the inner surface is frequently not rounding but sharp and the lines are often too coarse. It can be said without fear of successful gainsaying that the inscription of the Bushell platter shows at least that it was not the work of a skilful artisan such as the one who produced the perfect casting of the San Family platter. The workman was an amateur without doubt, but whether or not we should go further and classify him as an imitator of his own or a later age or as a forger of the Tang, Sung periods, depends chiefly upon our own inclinations. For my own part, I do not think that any more definite decision can be made from the style of the inscription than that it is not of a high class. Some characters have every appearance of having been cast, and others bear the marks of incision. The style of the characters is such as of those used in the Chow dynasty, but of course these have

been constantly imitated during succeeding periods. The length of the inscription is most unusual, but it must be remembered that the size of the platter is also unusually large and the number of characters used is not greater in proportion to the size than in the San Shih Pan.

The veneer that has been plastered over the surface of the platter proves nothing more than the desire of some possessor to preserve his specimen, and does not help us to any decision as to age. While I do not believe that anything can be definitely determined about the inscription further than that it is poor workmanship, I cannot refrain from expressing my inclination to believe that the inscription was originally cast by a bungling artisan who was unsuccessful in his work, and that it was completed by incision. In no other way can I account for the dissimilarity in different parts of the inscription. This theory seems to be the only one sufficient to cover the existing facts. There are some characters which, if considered by themselves, would pass all the severe tests of having been cast, whereas other characters reveal at once the trace of the tools with which they were incised. It is the kind of work which might be expected from an inferior but ambitious artisan.

The translation of the inscription has been done sufficiently well, and I do not propose to discuss the relative merits of the versions of Bushell, Chavannes, Giles, and Hopkins. Nothing can be learned from the facts given in the inscription to help us in determining the age of the platter. There is only one thing to which I think reference should be made, and that is concerning the identification of character No. 512. The identification made by Yuan Yuan and Wu Shih-fên is *li*, and the character may be seen as the last one on the reproduction of the San Shih Pan rubbing. *Li* is a generic term according to Po Ku Tu, as was also the term for tripod, *ting*. A *pan* or platter would be correctly included under

this genus—*li*, and there need be no hesitation in adopting this as the correct identification. There is no necessity of going so far afield as Mr. Takeda and Mr. Chalfant have gone in trying to identify it as an archaic form of *lung*, farmer. The use of *li* on the two platters is perfectly correct.

As to the platter itself, I was able, through the kindness of Mr. A. J. Koop, to make a careful examination of it on the afternoon of February 10, 1914. The *pan* was taken from its glass case and placed in the room of the Curator, where I was given every opportunity of handling it. I compared the rubbing with the platter, and found it to be identical in size. I then submitted the platter to the tests used by the Imperial Household Department of the late Manchū dynasty. (1) As to the patina, it is chiefly of dark brown or russet colour, though there are a few spots of low olive colour. It is the patina which vessels take on that have not been buried in the earth for any great length of time, or of vessels that have been buried in dry soils. (2) The sound given out when the platter was struck was clear and not confused like that of Sung bronzes. (3) When rubbed briskly with the palm of the hand there was no rank odour, as is the case with bronzes of the Tang and Sung period. These tests, together with those based upon my own personal experience in the observation of many specimens of undisputed genuineness, led me to the conclusion that this platter belongs to the latter part of the Chow dynasty, and that Dr. Bushell was approximately correct in assigning it to the seventeenth century A.C.

The workmanship of the decoration of the platter is on an equality with that of the inscription. It is of inferior quality. The touch of the artisan was not deft, but clumsy. He cared more for size than for good work. The result was that he produced a platter which could never have been considered of great artistic or literary value. In my opinion it is a genuine specimen of the latter part of the



Chow dynasty, but is not a good specimen of a superior workman. It is in a different class from the San Shih Pan of the Peking Palace, or the Ch'i Hou Pan of the late Shên Pao-hsi, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

JOHN C. FERGUSON.

### THE POETRY OF MUTANABBI

In the opinion of most Arabic-knowing scholars in the East, Mutanabbi holds the highest rank among all Arabic poets, yet in the estimation of European scholars he takes a very low place, compared with the pre-Islamic bards or with such later poets as Abul-Atahiya and Abul-Ala Al-Ma'arri. Like the Persian poet Anwari, he suffers from the fact that all his poems are in the *qasida* form, which both from its length and mechanism and conventional style happens to be particularly unattractive to European critics, while their subject-matter is both wearisome and irritating, consisting, as they do, of unending repetitions of two themes, exaggerated praise of a complacent patron or unsparing and unseemly abuse of some person unfortunate enough to incur the poet's resentment.

Both Huart in his *Arabic Literature* and Nicholson in his *Literary History of the Arabs* have laid stress on the unattractive features of Mutanabbi's style, his affected mannerisms, and his accumulation of fantastic imagery, and the few passages selected by the latter author for translation, though characteristic of Mutanabbi on the whole, are more calculated to reveal the side of his poetry which is repulsive to Western readers than to suggest that, after making allowances for great differences in taste, Mutanabbi is really entitled to a high place among the poets of the East.

In the course of making recently a rough translation of the 6,400 odd *bait*s of which the *Diwan* of Mutanabbi consists, I made a point of marking all lines which impressed me at the time as being notable, either from the sentiment expressed or the felicity of expression, and out of these lines, which I find numbered rather less than two hundred, I have picked out twenty, which are given below with a rough rendering into English. Most of the lines are gnomic or cynical in sentiment. Tastes differ so widely that it is not likely that any other selector would have taken many of my original choice, and probably even in picking from these the personal equation of the selector has played a large part.

## Text

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1  | فَلَا تَعَزِّزْكَ أَلْسِنَةُ مَوَالٍ                 | تَقْلِبُهُنَّ أَفِيدَةُ أَعَادِي                     |
| 2  | إِذَا الْفُضْلُ لَمْ يَزِدَّكَ عَنْ شُكْرِنَا قِمِ   | عَلَى هَبَّةٍ فَالْفُضْلُ فَيُضَيِّقُ لَكَ الشُّكْرُ |
| 3  | تَصْنَعُوا الْخَبِيرَةَ لِجَاهِلٍ أَوْ غَابِلٍ       | عَمَّا مَضَى مِنْهَا وَ مَا يَسْتَوْفَعُ             |
| 4  | فَضَى فِي الْهَوَى كَالشَّمِّ فِي الشَّهْدِ كَامِنًا | لَذِذْتُ بِهِ جَهْلًا وَ فِي اللَّذَّةِ الْحَتَفُ    |
| 5  | وَ مَا إِلَهِي طَبَى فِيهِمْ غَيْرَ أَنَسِي          | بَغِيضٍ إِلَى الْجَاهِلِ الْمُتَعَاوِلُ              |
| 6  | أَشَدُّ الْقَسَمِ بِسُدَى فِي                        | تَيَقَّنْ عَمَلَهُ سَاحِبُهُ الْبَقَالُ              |
| 7  | وَقَالُوا هَذَا يُجَكِّعُكَ الْ                      | فَقُلْتُ نَعَمْ إِذَا شِئْتُ اسْتَغْفِلُ             |
| 8  | وَيُظْهِرُ الْجَهْلُ بِي وَأَسْرِقُهُ                | وَالدُّرُّ ذُرٌّ بِرَغْمِ مَنْ جَهْلُهُ              |
| 9  | إِذَا كَانَ مَا تُطْرَبُ فِيهِ مُضَارِعًا            | مَضَى قَبْلَ أَنْ تُلْقَى عَلَيْهِ الْجَوَازِمُ      |
| 10 | يَجْلُ عَنْ الْكُشْبِيِّ لَا الْكُفَّ لُجَّةُ        | وَلَا هُوَ يَزْعُمُ وَلَا التَّزَاؤُ وَتُحْذَرُ      |
| 11 | كُلُّ جَلِيمٍ أَنَسَى بِفَقِيرٍ أَجْدَارُ            | حَقَّقْ لَاجِئِي إِلَيْهَا السِّلْسِلَامُ            |
| 12 | وَلَمْ أَرِ فِي غُيُوبِ النَّاسِ شَيْئًا             | كَتَلَمِ الْقَادِرِينَ عَلَى السَّمَامِ              |
| 13 | وَلَا تَفَكَّ إِلَى تَخْلُقِ تَشْشُمُهُ              | شَكْوَى الْبَرِيحِ إِلَى الْغُرْبَانِ وَالرَّحِمِ    |
| 14 | لَوْ كُنْتُ مَقَارَنَةَ اللَّيْلِ لَمِمْ لَأَنْهَا   | عَيْفَ يَجْرُ مِنْ الدَّمَامَةِ صَبْلُنَا            |
| 15 | الْقَاتِلِ الْبَشَرِيِّ لِمَا مَا يُصْرَبُ           | وَالوَاحِدِ الْعَالَمِينَ الْبِرِّ وَالْهَلَسِ       |
| 16 | وَ كَأَنَّا أَبْنَاءُ عُنْدٍ كَأَسْرَاهُ             | لَسَ يَأْمَنُ حُرُوبُ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ                 |
| 17 | بَلْبَلَتْ لِيهِمْ بِلَاءُ الْوَرْدِ بِلْسُنِي       | أَنُوكُنَا هَسًا أَوْ لَسَى بِالْهَسَانِ             |

18 غَيْبِكَ إِذَا فُزِلَتْ مَعَ الْفِيَالِي وَ عَزَلَكَ جَنِينَ تَشْعُدُ فِي وَرَائِهِ  
 19 \* لَوْ كَانَ مَسْئَلَتِي فِيكَ مَثَلَصَةً لَمْ يَكُنِ الْفَرَسُ مَأْكُوتٍ الْبَيْتِ  
 20 مَسْئَلَتِي عَسَى أَنْ لَمْ تَكُنْ لِي وَ عَسَى أَنْ أَلْقَى مِنْ أَعْيُنِكَ الْوَيْدَ

### Translation

1. Let not friendly tongues, inspired by hostile hearts, deceive thee.
2. When thy superiority raises thee not above the necessity of thanking a base man for a gift, the superiority lies with him who receives the thanks.
3. Life lies clear before him, who is ignorant or careless as to what has happened in it and what is expected to happen.
4. There is a sickness lying concealed in love like poison in honey, of which I tasted in my ignorance and death was in the taste of it.
5. As for pride, this is no habit of mine among them, except that I am in sooth a foe to every ignorant fellow who pretends to be wise
6. To my mind the greatest of sorrow lies in a joy the possessor of which knows surely that it will pass away from him.
7. They asked me, "Will he cause thee to reach as high as the Pleiades?" and I answered "Yes if I wish to sink lower in dignity" (*The poet means to suggest hyperbolically that his present position in the favour of the noble panegyricized by him is higher than the dignity ironically alluded to by his critics.*)
8. He affects to show ignorance about me though I know him well, and the pearl remains a pearl in spite of him who knows not its value.
9. When what thou intendest is but a verb in the active tense, it becomes a past verb before the sign of jaem can be attached to it. (*This line contains several plays on grammatical terms*)

10. He is too great for any comparison: his hand is not an ocean (of beneficence), nor is he a lion, nor is his opinion a sharp sword. (*An allusion to some of the stock metaphors of encomiastic verse.*)
11. Every act of forbearance, which occurs without the power of exacting vengeance, is but a subterfuge to which the base resort.
12. I have seen nothing among the faults of men so grievous as the failure of those who had it in their power to attain perfection.
13. Make no complaint before the folk, whom thou wilt thus cause to triumph over thee, like the complaint of a wounded man before crows and vultures.
14. The companionship of the base is an accursed thing, for it is in truth a guest, which brings along repentance with it as an uninvited guest. (*The word ميعن at the end of this line is the word which is the answer to the conundrum propounded by Hariri at the end of the 24th Assembly وما وصف اذا اردت بالنون بص صاحب في النون وقوم بالذون وخرج من المزبون وتعرض للهنون.*)
15. He speaks the truth, even when it injures him to do so, and his two secret and outward states are both alike.
16. The two sons of the enemy, who serve to increase the number of his host, are but like the two letters of ي, which make up the word *unaisyān*. (*This also is a grammatical allusion, the word given being the diminutive form of the noun انسان, made by inserting the letter ي twice.*)
17. I am afflicted with a calamity like that of the rose which is placed near to noses more fitted to have the nose-ring of a camel placed on them.
18. They attack thee when thou art made lean with the vicissitudes, and fight like dogs around thee (to get nearer to thee) when thou art prosperous.

19. *If my sojourn in thee had been any injury to me, the pearl would not have remained within the oyster-shell. (The poet means that he would not have accepted his uncongenial surroundings if his innate merit could have suffered thereby.)*
20. Thou art pictured in my heart, so that thou seemest never to leave me and it is even as if despair of union with thee constituted a promise of union.

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#### NOTE BY D. S. MARGOLIOUTH

The most famous collection of the wit and wisdom of Mutanabbi is that made by the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, who died 385 A.H. It is printed in the *Wasilah Adabiyyah* of Husain Marāṣī, Cairo, 1292, ii, 67-79. An asterisk has been put against the lines in Mr. Dewhurst's collection which are also found in the 300 or thereabouts chosen by the Ṣāhib. No. 9 is taken by the author of the *Sirr al-Bulāghah* as an illustration of the excellent rule that technical language should not be employed in poetry. A most interesting addition recently made to the printed literature on Mutanabbi is the *Wasitah beina'l-Mutanabbi wa-Khuzūmihi* of 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jurjānī, oh. 366, Ḥaidā, 1331. Perhaps I may also call attention to the *Ḥatimiyyah*, embodied by Yākūt in his *Irshād al-Arib*, vi, 504-19.

#### PERSIAN AND ARABIC WORDS IN THE SATSAT OF BIHARI LAL

In the course of revising a translation of the Satsat of the Hindi poet Bihārī Lal, which I made in 1907, and which I hope, after following the Horatian maxim "nonumque prematur in annum", to publish soon, I have been struck with the comparatively large number of words of Persian and Arabic origin which appear with little or no change in this typical Hindi poem. If Doha No. 708

(Grierson's edition, Calcutta, 1896) be genuine, this work was completed on March 31, 1662, and in style and subject-matter the verses of which it consists are as far removed from Muhammadan influence as it was possible for them to be. The extent to which foreign words are used in such a poem at such a date is a striking indication of the penetrative power of the language of the Islamic conquerors.

The following list of words of Persian and Arabic origin occurring in the *Satsat* is, it is hoped, a complete one. The numbers given refer to the *Dohas*, 726 in number, in Grierson's edition :—

- 3 चकस *akus* (reflection) is the Arabic عكس.
16. खोर *sor* (fame) is the Persian شور. The same word occurs (683) in a different sense, meaning noise.
17. ताफता *tāftā* (twisted silk, taffeta), is the Persian تافته.
20. इजाफा *ijāfā* (increase) is the Arabic اضافة.
- 21 मुलक *mulak* (sovereignty) is a corruption of the Arabic مملك *mulk*.
- खानिज *khānij* (governor) is the Arabic عامل.
- जोर *jur* (force) is the Persian زور; and occurs in three other *Dohas* (269, 278, and 504).
- रकम *rakam* (thing or article) is a corruption of the Arabic رقم *raqm*.
- 33 तरफ *tarf* (direction, towards) is the Arabic طرف.
56. किलिबुला *kilālinum* (a compass) is a corruption of the Persian قبله *qibla* (being, of course, Arabic).
- 61 फौज *fanj* (army) is the Arabic فوج, and occurs again in *Doha* 703.
- बीज *pol* (troop) is a corruption of the Persian گول.
73. गिरह *girah* (evolution) is a vulgarized form of the Persian گره *giriḥ*.
- कबूतर *kabūtar* (a pigeon) is the Persian کبوتر.

83. **शक्ति** *shakti* (proved) is the Arabic **ثابت**.
88. **सिरताज** *sirtaj* (a chief) is a corrupted form of the Persian **سرتاج** *sartaj*.
89. **गरम** *garam* (hot) is a vulgarized form of the Persian **گرم** *garm*.
94. **हद** *hud* (extreme limit) is the Arabic **حد** *hadd*.
106. **रुख** *rukh* (face) is the Persian **رخ**, and occurs again in Doha 722.
117. **दाग** *dag* (mark or brand) is the Persian **داع**, and is found also in Doha 589.
127. **कागद** *kadyad* (paper) is a corruption of the Persian **کاغذ**, and re-occurs in Doha 402.
139. **तमाचे** *tamdse* inflected form of **तमाशा** (a spectacle), is a corruption of the Arabic **تماشا**. The same inflected form is found again in Doha 719.
148. **गुलाब** *gulab* (a rose or essence of rose) is the Persian **گلاب**. This word is of very frequent occurrence in the Satsai, being found also in Dohas 290 382 389, 476, 487 539, 540, 548 631 632 645 and 646.
151. **तेज** *tej* (swift) is the Persian **تر**.  
**हजार** *hajdr* (a thousand) is the Persian **هزار** and occurs again in Dohas 406, 527 667 and 697.
187. **चुगल** *chugal* (a tale-bearer) is the Persian **چغل**.
189. **खियाल** *khiydl* (thought) is a vulgar form of the Arabic **خيال** *khayil*, and is to be found also in Doha 560.
193. **हमाम** *hamdm* (hot bath) is a corruption of the Arabic **حمام** *hammam*.
212. **गो** *goi* (hall) is the Persian **گوي**.  
**चौगन** *chaugn* (game of polo) is the Persian **چوگان**.
220. **प्याले** *pydle*, inflected form of **प्याला** *pylla* (cup) is a corruption of the Persian **پيالہ** *pyldd*.

230. **बेहाल** *bēhal* (senseless) is the Persian بی حال, and re-occurs in Dohas 230 and 660.
231. **सबीह** *sabīh* (course) is the Arabic سبيل.
237. **गीर** *gīr* (catcher) is the Persian گیر.
248. **सुमार** *sūmar* (counting) is a corruption of the Persian شمار *shumār*.
252. **सिखसिखे** *sikhsikhe* (smooth) is probably a corruption of the Arabic سلسلة, meaning a chain or series.
259. **बलाब** *bulāb* (calamity) is a corrupted form of the Arabic بل *balā*, and is found again in Dohas 261, 403, and 684.
269. **बगाम** *bagām* (bridle) is the Persian بگام.
275. **नाहक** *nahak* (wrongfully) is the Persian ناحق.
322. **कालबूत** *kālbūt* is a vulgarized form of the Persian کالبد *kālbud* (a form or figure).
329. **गरीब** *garīb* (poor) is the Arabic غريب.
- बिबाबिबी** *bibābībī* (to protect) is derived from a corruption of the Persian بوار *navāz* (protecting).
338. **जुदी** *judī* (separate) is a word obtained by treating the Arabic حُدا as if a Hindi feminine form could be derived from it.
351. **गरज** *garaj* (motive) is the Arabic غرض.
353. **हाल** *hāl* (condition) is the Arabic حال.
- खूनी** *khūnī* (murderer) is the Persian خونی.
- खुशाम** *khushām* (happy) is a corruption of the Persian خوشحال *khushhāl*.
361. **सदब** *sadab* (politeness) is the Arabic ادب.
382. **सीसी** *sīsī* (a phial) is a diminutive corrupt form of the Persian شیشه *shīsha*.
390. **बहराह** *bahrah* (evil-moving) is the Persian بدراه.
401. **बमूद** *namūd* (revealing) is the Persian نمود.
424. **चश्मा** *chashmā* (spectacles) is the Persian چشمه. This word occurs again in Doha 606, but is there written चबना with the dental sibilant.
458. **सिकार** *sikār* (hunting) is the Persian شکار.



463. कजाकी *kujakti* (a marauding attack) is a corruption of the Persian قزاقی *qasdaqī* (the attack of a Cossack).
467. जिह *jih* (bowstring) is the Persian ز.  
कमान *kaman* (a bow) is the Persian کمان.
481. नीक *naik* (point) is the Persian نوک (*nok* in Old Persian).
- बेजा *neja* (spear) is the Persian نیزه (*neza* in Old Persian).
491. जरी *jari* (golden) is the Persian زری.
492. गुलबंद *gulband* (a neck-band) is the Persian گلوبند.
503. कसरि *kasari* (a defect) is the Arabic كسر, used in its ordinary Indian sense.
509. बेपार *bepti* (footless) is the Persian بی پای.
510. हावस *hāyal*, the meaning of which is given by the commentator as नावस (attracted), is probably a corruption of the Arabic هائل (terrible).
515. पायदास *payandaz* (a foot-mat) is the Persian پای انداز.
524. फानूस *phānūs* (a Chinese lantern) is the Arabic فانوس.
526. मोरचा *morchā* (rust) is the Persian مورچه.
534. सबिहि *sabihī* (a picture or portrait) is a corruption of the Arabic شبه *shabih*.
538. नाजुक *ndjuk* (delicate) is the Persian نازک.
540. परी *pari* (a fairy) is the Persian پری.
550. दमची *dumchī* (lower part of the back) is the Persian دمیچی.
577. राह *rīh* (path) is the Persian راه.
580. घुराफा *ghurāfa* (a giraffe) is the Arabic زرافة *zurāfa*.
598. नरम *naram* (soft) is a corruption of the Persian نرم *narm*.
620. सीरा *soṛi* (saltpetre) is the Persian شور.
- कपूर *kapūr* (camphor) is probably corrupted from the Persian کافور, and not derived directly from the Sanskrit कर्पूर *karpūra*.
628. गुमान *guman* (pride) is the Persian گمان.

630. **हवाव** *havai* (condition) is a corruption of the Arabic plural **احوال**.
631. **बहार** *bahār* (spring) is the Persian **بهار**.
634. **सफर** *saphar* (journey) is the Arabic **سفر**.
636. **बाज** *bdj* (a hawk) is the Persian **باز**.
645. **आब** *ab* (distinction) is the Persian **آب**.
647. **अतर** *atar* (scent) is a corrupt form of the Arabic **عطر** *'itr*.
654. **अहसान** *ahsān* (generosity, benefit) is a vulgarized form of the Arabic **إحسان** *ihāsān*.
660. **बंद** *band* (an embankment) is the Persian **بند**.
663. **बलख** *Balakh* (the city of Balkh) is the Persian **بلخ**.
685. **कबुल** *kabūl* (acceptance) is the Arabic **قبول**.
694. **बहस** *bahas* (discussion) is a corrupted form of the Arabic **بحث** *bahṣ*.
697. **दरबार** *darbār* (court) is the Persian **دربار**.
706. **फते** *phate* (victory) is a vulgar form of the Arabic **فَتْحَة** *fath*.
707. **हुकुम** *hukum* (order) is a vulgar form of the Arabic **حُكْم** *hukm*.

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## TWO NOTES ON VEDIC RELIGION

In his recent treatise on *The Scapegoat* Sir James Frazer has made use, in support of his thesis of the fundamental character of early religion, of certain Vedic evidence. It is of interest to examine the use made of the material, in order to determine whether or not it can be regarded as valid, and whether the Vedic religion thus receives further elucidation.

The main thesis of Sir James Frazer in *The Scapegoat*<sup>1</sup> is that on the one hand it was customary to kill the human

or animal god in order to save his divine life from being weakened by the inroads of age, on the other it was customary to have a general expulsion of evils and sins once a year, and that by a combination of these two uses the dying god was employed as a scapegoat. After illustrating these ideas, the author examines in detail the sacrifices of the Mexicans,<sup>1</sup> which he considers as illustrating in special completeness the doctrine of deicide as a process of maintaining the life of the world, and finds in it the theory that death is a portal through which gods and men alike must pass to escape decrepitude and to attain the vigour of eternal youth. "The conception," he concludes,<sup>2</sup> "may be said to culminate in the Brahminical doctrine that in the daily sacrifice the body of the Creator is broken anew for the salvation of the world." This conception is more precisely developed<sup>3</sup> by reference to the Rgvedic<sup>4</sup> theory of the origin of the world from the dismemberment of Purusa by the gods, and to the Brahminical theory<sup>5</sup> of the repetition in the ritual of the mystic sacrifice of Prajāpati by which the world is continually anew created. The world is renewed by the sacrifice, and the priest who performs the sacrifice identifies himself in the act with the creator and by his act of sacrifice keeps up uninterrupted the revolution of time and matter.

The use made of the Brahminical theory of sacrifice is extremely ingenious and effective, but it remains to inquire whether it is legitimate. It must be remembered that in this theory we have no simple and naïve statement of facts of ritual, but a very elaborate and artificial figment. The Purusa hymn of the *Rgveda* is one of the latest of that collection, as *inter alia* is shown by its mention of the four castes<sup>6</sup> as such, while they are unknown

<sup>1</sup> pp. 275-305.

<sup>2</sup> p. vi.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 410-11.

<sup>4</sup> v. 321.

<sup>5</sup> See Eggeling, *SBE.* xlii, pp. xiv-xxiv. The *Satapatha Brahmana* goes further in speculation than the *Taittiriya Saṁhitā*: see my translation of the latter text, pp. cxxvi seqq.

<sup>6</sup> See Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, 247-8.

to the collection as a whole. It is essentially one of the philosophic or speculative, not religious hymns of the *Saṃhitā*, and the speculation which it contains is not elsewhere found in the *Saṃhitā*, a fact which renders it extremely probable that it cannot claim to have been one of the generally current views of the process of creation. But the speculation which it embodies undoubtedly reappears in a much developed and improved form in the doctrine of the Brahmin schools, and in special of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, summarized above. .

This doctrine, however, cannot be treated as representing primitive belief. The Brahmins devoted the whole of their energies to the examination of the nature of the sacrifice, and their speculative activity took a wide range and resulted in many theories.<sup>1</sup> They thus developed the doctrine of the substitution<sup>2</sup> of the animal or cereal offering for the human, which, they argued, was the more primitive, and, again, they enunciated the doctrine of the efficacy of the sacrifice in the maintenance of the world. Their views on these topics are purely speculative, just as are those of Sir James Frazer, and they must not be treated as anything but conjectural explanations of what the priests found prescribed in a traditional ritual, much of which they themselves did not, it is certain,<sup>3</sup> understand.

Now if the ritual itself, which the *Brāhmaṇas* explain, provided for the slaughter of a man and treated his dismemberment in the rite as the central fact of the sacrifice, then we would be tempted to see in the *Brāhmaṇa* explanations a clear exposition of the meaning of the sacrifice as it presented itself to the performers of the rite. It would even then not be possible to exclude the possibility that priestly theory might engender ritual,

<sup>1</sup> See Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice* (Paris, 1898).

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 2. 3. 6. seqq.; *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vi, 8.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. the case of Makha, *Vedic Index*, ii, 116.

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<sup>1</sup> pp. 278-305.

<sup>2</sup> p. vi.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 410-11.

<sup>4</sup> x, 90

<sup>5</sup> See Eggeling, *SBE*, xliii, pp. xiv-xxiv. The *Śatapatha Brahmana* goes further in speculation than the *Taittiriya Śrautasūtra*; see my translation of the latter text, pp. cxxvi-cxxvii.

<sup>6</sup> See Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, 247-8.

to the collection as a whole. It is essentially one of the philosophic or speculative, not religious hymns of the *Samhita*, and the speculation which it contains is not elsewhere found in the *Samhita*, a fact which renders it extremely probable that it cannot claim to have been one of the generally current views of the process of creation. But the speculation which it embodies undoubtedly reappears in a much developed and improved form in the doctrine of the Brahmin schools, and in special of the *Satapatha Brahmana*, summarized above. .

This doctrine, however, cannot be treated as representing primitive belief. The Brahmins devoted the whole of their energies to the examination of the nature of the sacrifice, and their speculative activity took a wide range and resulted in many theories.<sup>1</sup> They thus developed the doctrine of the substitution<sup>2</sup> of the animal or cereal offering for the human, which, they argued, was the more primitive, and, again, they enunciated the doctrine of the efficacy of the sacrifice in the maintenance of the world. Their views on these topics are purely speculative, just as are those of Sir James Frazer, and they must not be treated as anything but conjectural explanations of what the priests found prescribed in a traditional ritual, much of which they themselves did not, it is certain,<sup>3</sup> understand.

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<sup>1</sup> See Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice* (Paris, 1898).

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. *Satapatha Brāhmana*, I, 2.3.6. corp.; *Āitareya Brāhmana*, vi, 8.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. the case of Mahān, *Valis Index*, II, 116.

JRAS, 1915.

and that a sacrifice may not be really primitive, but at any rate the coincidence of ritual and theory would deserve careful examination. But in this ritual the speculation is based not on the slaying of a man, but on the building of a fire altar, the Agnicayana, which is formed so as to represent a bird or human shape, Prajāpati. It is essentially the formation of the altar that constitutes the creation of Prajāpati and the universe, of which the altar is the microcosm. This point is the more important in that the ritual does include the use of the heads of a man and four other victims,<sup>1</sup> which are required to make firm the foundation of the altar. It is, indeed, natural to suggest that the use of a human head is a relic of a formal human sacrifice, even although in the ritual as it is handed down the actual slaying of a man for the purpose is not normally contemplated. But admitting that a human life was used, it was not used for the purpose of slaying a decaying deity. The explanation of its use is the much more simple practice of burying a human being in the foundations of a building to secure a guardian of it.<sup>2</sup> That practice is of immemorial antiquity and of regular occurrence in India, and its rationale is intelligible enough. But in the slaughter of the victim in these cases there is no element to show that any divine character was assigned to the victim, still less that he was regarded as a prototype of Prajāpati. The head was that of some enemy slain in battle, or of some person killed by lightning or destroyed in some other manner indicating his slight value, and the real parallel to Prajāpati the sacrificer, so far from offering himself up secures as the result of the sacrifice life lasting a full hundred years. There is no trace here of the conception of dying to live or of a dying god. It cannot be too clearly realized that the dismemberment of Prajāpati is not his destruction.

<sup>1</sup> See Eggeling, *SBH.* xlv. pp. xxxviii-ix.

<sup>2</sup> See Keith, *JRAS.* 1907, pp. 243-4; Jackson, 1906, p. 532.

**Prajapati is a permanent prius, and the dismemberment is merely a change of form of what is inexhaustible. Thus the seeming parallelism of the rite to the cases of the dying god who again comes to life is purely imaginary. To the sacrificer death is not the portal to life, but the sacrifice is a means of prolonging his life indefinitely until its full term of 100 years. The human offering as a method of attaining immortality is not even suggested. The attainment of that end is due to the fire piling in the form of Prajapati, and that consists in the arrangement of diverse bricks in various shapes and orders, and the depositing of a golden man as a symbol of Prajapati. There is no evidence of this image being a substitute for a real victim.**

In point of fact the conception of the dying god and his resurrection is not Vedic, for whatever cause that religion offers no real parallel to the Adonis Attis Osiris or even the Demeter Persephone religious conception<sup>1</sup>. That a god should be actually sacrificed by men is clearly foreign to Vedic religious conceptions, and it is most improbable that the theosophic speculation of the origin of the universe from the sacrifice of Purusa is due in any way to the existence of a practice of slaying an embodiment of the god. On the contrary, it was surely one of the earliest conceptions for a body of sacrificing priests to arrive at, that the origin of the world, which their philosophy sought to trace to one source, was to be found in an action by the creator analogous to the action of sacrifice, and that the sacrifice should be performed on himself followed essentially from his solitude before creation took effect. So natural an explanation must surely have preference over one which assumes the existence of a state of religious belief of which there is no other evidence in Vedic religion.

The second point in which Sir J. Frazer appeals to Vedic authority is on the question of the 12 nights

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Keith, *JRAE*, 1907, pp. 525-49.



occurring about Christmas on which in Europe licence has often been permitted. He sees<sup>1</sup> in them the period intended to equate a year of lunar months (six of 29, six of 30 days = 354) to an ordinary year (365 or 366 days), and he finds that their unfixed condition as intercalary days tended to the reversal of all established morality. The days did not fit into the ordinary year, and though necessary were yet unaccountable, a theory which is a little difficult to follow, since if days were deliberately interpolated as is assumed, those who interpolated them can hardly have been ignorant of their nature. In them he finds a period of relaxation of moral rules after the winter solstice, when mock kings were allowed to reign, and this hypothesis he carries to a further point by arguing that the practice of interpolating a month every five years, which with Zimmer<sup>2</sup> he finds in the *Rgveda*,<sup>3</sup> was in large measure<sup>4</sup> due to the desire to eliminate the 12 days of misrule, although the 12 day reckoning would admittedly have been far more simple, convenient, and appropriate, instead of allowing 5 years to elapse before the year could be brought into order by the addition of a month.

As far as India goes this ingenuity is thrown away. The 12 days found in the *Rgveda*<sup>5</sup> are the period when the Rbhus rested in the home of the sun-god, and the Rbhus, it is argued, are the 3 seasons, and therefore the 12 days fall at the end of the seasons, at the winter solstice. This is all pure and most improbable guess-work, and receives no countenance from sober scholarship<sup>6</sup> or common-sense. Further, the year of 354 days is totally

<sup>1</sup> *The Serapeum*, pp. 324-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 365-70.

<sup>3</sup> i, 161. 46; iii, 55. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 343.

<sup>5</sup> iv, 23. See Zimmer, *op. cit.* pp. 365-7; Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, pp. 5 seqq.

<sup>6</sup> See Oldenberg, *Religion der Veda*, p. 227; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 183; Whitney, *JAOB*, xvi, p. xciv.

unknown to the *Rgveda*, and only appears in the *Sūtras*.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, to suppose that the period of 12 days was used as an intercalation is absolutely unjustified. Finally, the use of an intercalary month every five years is also unknown to the *Rgveda*<sup>2</sup> or to any early text. In all probability when intercalation was begun it took the form of rough attempts to secure coincidence of the lunar and solar years by the intercalation of a month here and there, and not by adding 12 days, which implies a certain accuracy of approximation to a knowledge of the lunar and solar years of 354 and 366 days respectively, of which neither is known to early India.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

#### THE SATURNALIA AND THE MAHAVRATA

Sir J. Frazer, in an interesting discussion in *The Scapegoat*,<sup>3</sup> has argued that the Roman Saturnalia was originally a festival held in February or March, at which in primitive times in ancient Italy it was the universal practice, wherever the worship of Saturn prevailed, to choose a man who played the part and enjoyed all the traditional privileges of Saturn for a season and then died, whether by his own or another's hand, in the character of the good god who gave his life for the world. The hypothesis is interesting; if accepted it establishes an historical connexion between the Saturnalia and the modern Carnival, and links the Saturnalia with the festivals of Kronos in Greece which show some faint traces of human sacrifice.

The evidence, however, when carefully sifted, indicates that the attempt to explain the Saturnalia on the theory of the dying god is not one which can be accepted. The date is a most serious difficulty which Sir J. Frazer's

<sup>1</sup> *Vedic Index*, II, 412.

<sup>2</sup> *Vedic Index*, II, 412.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 306-12.

ingenuity cannot remove. As he himself points out,<sup>1</sup> Livy<sup>2</sup> treats the date as being December as far back as 217 B.C., Macrobius<sup>3</sup> also does not hint that the date had ever been changed, and there is not the slightest justification for the conjecture of a change of time, an expedient to which the author has resorted on other matters with equal lack of justification.<sup>4</sup> He argues that it is strange that the festival of the god who presides over sowing should have his feast in December instead of February or March, when agricultural operations begin in Italy, and he points out that the last day of the modern Carnival, Shrove Tuesday, was up to recent times the customary season in Central Europe for promoting the growth of the crops by means of leaps and dances. But against all these theoretic considerations must be set the simple facts of the Mahāvratā of the Vedic Calendar. That rite<sup>5</sup> was held at the winter solstice, i.e. in December; it was not a festival of sowing, but one intended to quicken the fertility of the earth, and one of its chief features was the dance of the maidens bearing pitchers of water. No one would expect that a Vedic rite, duly ordered by the Brahmins, would present us with the licence of the Roman Saturnalia as recorded in the texts of the Augustan and later periods. But even in the completely formalized version of the Vedic texts there are traces of an unexpected prominence of Śūdras. The maidens are *dāsis*, female slaves, and an Aryan strives with a Śūdra over a skin which is shaped to be a symbol of the sun. The Aryan is, of course, victor, but the mere fact of the struggle shows the popular character of the rite, and its open and avowed fertility magic deepens the impression. That magic includes a dialogue between a Brahmacārin and

<sup>1</sup> p. 245, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> xii, l. 19 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Saturnalia*, i, 10.

<sup>4</sup> See Prof. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's criticism (cited at p. 415, n. 1) of the theory of the change in the date of the Crucifixion.

<sup>5</sup> See Hillebrandt, *Mon. Forsch.* v, 306 seqq.; Keith, *Sanskritam Aranyaka*, pp. 72 seqq.

a betaira, a pale parallel of the licence of Augustan Rome. Nor can there be any doubt that the Saturnalia was, like the Mahāvratā, in its origin a fertility ritual, held at the winter solstice. The Carnival, on the other hand, while also intended to promote fertility, belongs to a different period, namely the rites of spring, and these rites have other characteristics than those of the winter solstice.

There is, however, one argument against this view of the equation of the Mahāvratā and the Saturnalia. The Mahāvratā contains no hint of the slaying of a god in the person of a human representative, a view which is very probably unknown to Vedic religion.<sup>1</sup> Nor does the Saturnalia in its classic form show any such rite, despite the full accounts preserved in various early authors. But in the accounts of the martyrdom of St. Dasius, on November 24, 303 A.D., made known by Professor Cumont, it is stated that it was the custom of the Roman soldiers at Durostorum in Lower Moesia to celebrate the Saturnalia by choosing thirty days before the festival a young and handsome man who was clothed in royal attire, and who for the period of the feast was allowed to taste of every pleasure, but who was required to commit suicide on the altar of the god at the end of the period. From this it is deduced that the actual slaying of a representative of the god was normal in Italy and was only abolished by the advance of civilization, which left only the harmless practice alluded to in post-Augustan authors of choosing from the freemen a temporary king who could issue commands to the revellers.

Now this feature of the Saturnalia is precisely one which is not paralleled in the Mahāvratā and which is in all probability not ancient. The Saturnalia as we learn of it was a festival which had long undergone modification

<sup>1</sup> Keith, JRAS. 1907, pp. 585 seqq.; *Pakistan Studies*, pp. cxxviii seqq.

July,<sup>1</sup> not even in March like the Babylonian Zakmuk, with which Sir J. Frazer identifies it, or like the Jewish Purim, apparently, though not certainly, a borrowing from Zakmuk. It follows, therefore, that the elaborate argument<sup>2</sup> which finds in Mordecai and Esther as opposed to Haman and Vashti a relic of a ritual of slaying the human personification of the god and his revival rests on the weakest and least plausible grounds. But in any case to argue from an Eastern rite of spring to the Italian rite of the winter solstice is wholly inconclusive. We have the sure evidence of diversity of date, and against that difference can be adduced only vague and unsubstantial conjectures of identity of substance.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

#### MALAVA-GANA-STHITI

Dr. Thomas has said (JRAS, 1914, p. 1010) that I adhere to my original interpretation of the expression *Malava-gana-sthiti*. That is not at all the case. My original rendering (quoted *ibid.*, p. 746, in my note on which he has commented) was "the tribal constitution of the Málavas," in the sense of the event of some formal establishment of the Málavas as a tribe.<sup>3</sup> My amended translation (p. 747) is "the usage of the Málava tribe."

That the term *sthiti* in the dates of A.D. 473 and 532 has the sense of 'usage, custom, practice', is shown plainly by the use of *amṇāta*, 'handed down traditionally', instead of it, in the recently discovered date of A.D. 405.

<sup>1</sup> See Frazer, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer, pp. 365 seqq., 405-7.

<sup>3</sup> In JRAS, 1914, p. 414, Dr. Thomas gave "the continuance [*sthiti*] of the tribal constitution [*gana*] of the Málavas" as being the "substance" of my original rendering. That does not represent my rendering at all properly: it was to *gana-sthiti*, not to *gana*, that I gave the meaning of "tribal constitution"; and I did not introduce the idea of 'continuance'.

As regards the term *gana* in this expression, Dr. Thomas, without making any clear statement as to how he himself would translate it, disputes the rendering of it by 'tribe', which, by the way, has been given by others as well as by me, and says that I have not quoted anything to bear out this translation: to that he adds that the meaning 'tribe' is not, to his knowledge, given to it by any of the dictionaries, Sanskrit or European. I reply as follows. The word *gana* is given in Indian lexicons, with many other terms, as, primarily, a synonym of *śamāha* and *saṅghāta*, of which the radical and leading idea is that of 'a gathering together, a collection'.<sup>1</sup> Some familiar instances of its use and precise meanings are, *ahar-gana*, 'a sum or total of days'; *ari-gana*, 'a host of enemies'; *guna-gana*, 'a number of good qualities'. In the case of Jain writings and inscriptions it has been rendered by 'school' and 'section';<sup>2</sup> and in the case of Buddhist writings by 'chapter, meeting, company, quorum'.<sup>3</sup> Obviously, it has to be translated exactly in each particular case according to the context. If I and others have erred in translating it by 'tribe', we have done so in good company: the first meanings given to it in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary are "flock, troop, multitude, number, TRIBE, series, class". But I maintain that there has been no error, and that, when the word is found in connection with names of peoples such as *Mālava* and *Yaudhēya*, the best rendering of it is 'tribe'; the word tribe being used, of course, in its ordinary general sense,

<sup>1</sup> Amarakośa (Bombay, 1896), p. 129, verses 39, 40 (twenty-two synonymous terms); Abhidhānachintāmaṇi, verse 1411 (thirty-five terms), under which the editors, Rothlingek and Rieu, have explained all these terms by the German *wenge*, which seems to mean a 'multitude, crowd, quantity'.

<sup>2</sup> "School", Jacobi, *SBK*, vol. 22, p. 288, note 2 (quoted by Dr. Thomas): "section", Lüders, *List of the Brahmi inscriptions*, index, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Oldenberg, *SBK*, vol. 12, pp. 175, 196; vol. 17, pp. 34, 36; vol. 20, p. 210.

not in any technical meaning which a pedant may assign to it as coming from the Latin *tribus* or on other theoretical grounds.

Questions raised by Dr. Thomas on p. 1012, as to my views about the nature of the connection of the Mālavas with the era of B.C. 58, are answered sufficiently by referring him to what I have written from time to time in *this Journal*. I have only to add that to state a date as "the year so-and-so according to the usage or the tradition of the Mālava tribe," that is, "in accordance with the reckoning followed by the Mālavas," is a quite sensible and appropriate method of dating.

As regards the Śungas, their approximate period, B.C. 183 to 72 (Barnett, *Antiquities of India* pp. 41, 42), follows from the statements in the Purāṇas that the Mauryas ruled for 137 years and then the Śungas for 112 (Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kālī Age* p. 70) applied to B.C. 321 as the initial date of Chandragupta. But there is no evidence that they possessed Malwā and those parts; on the contrary, the indications are that, after the time of Aśoka, the western parts of Northern India were split up into small kingdoms and tribal governments and that the Śungas were only a dynasty of Behar and that neighbourhood, whose territory did not extend on the west beyond Baghelkhand.<sup>1</sup> This, however, is a separate question, not bearing on the translation of the expression *Mālava-gaṇa-stuṭi*.

J. F. FIFFI

<sup>1</sup> Witness, in addition to numismatic evidence, 1. the Pāṭhliya inscriptions, which mention Rajas of Adhichhatra (Liders, I, Nos. 904, 905, and see *this Journal* 1914, p. 89) and 2. the Besnagar inscription, which mentions the Raja Bhagabhadra (Liders, No. 609, and see *this Journal*, 1909, p. 1035, and subsequent papers). The latter is a good reason for identifying Bhagabhadra with either the Bhagavata or the Bhadra or Bhadraka (with variants including Antaka and Amhiraas) whom the Purāṇas name among the Śunga kings.

# IRREGULARITIES IN THE PURĀṆIC ACCOUNT OF THE DYNASTIES OF THE KALI AGE

In a note entitled "The Age of the Purāṇas"<sup>1</sup> Professor Keith has first referred to a piece of evidence that I cited<sup>2</sup> from Mr. V. Smith's *Early History of India*, and criticised certain views which I put forward regarding the Purāṇas in my *Dynasties of the Kali Age*. This part of his note really deals with the age of the Purāṇas. He has further taken the opportunity to criticize certain features of the dynastic account and also to refer to some points that were discussed in last year's Journal. This part of his note is really a distinct matter and has only an indirect bearing on the question of the age of the Purāṇas. It is impossible in a note to deal properly with the former subject and I hope to do so as well as I can on a future occasion. Hence I leave that at present and consider only the second subject here, and where it is necessary to refer to last year's Journal the pages are cited within brackets.

As regards Professor Keith's criticism of my views in my book I must ask those who think my views worthy of consideration to see exactly what I said there, because it is impossible in this note to deal fully with all his remarks and to restate my arguments. Hence only the more important points can be discussed here.

Three lines occur containing the word *bhaviṣye* with reference to the kings of the Kali age, and I pointed out that it could not from the context mean "in the future", but only "in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa". He disputes this, and asserts that it means "in the future" (pp. 1023-4). The simplest proof would have been to give a translation of the lines, and this he has not done. The lines, freed from the comments in which he has enveloped them, are these:

1 In the *Matya* and *Pāyā* respectively—

tān sarvān kīrtayisyāmi bhaviṣye kathitān nṛpān.

tān sarvān kīrtayisyāmi bhaviṣye pathitān nṛpān

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1914, p. 1021.

<sup>2</sup> Id., p. 746.



2. In the *Matsya*—

*taśyānvavāye vakṣyāmi bhaviṣye kathitān upān.*

3. In the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, and *Brahmaṇḍa* generally—

*bhaviṣye te prasankhyātāḥ purāṇa-jñaiḥ śrutarṣibhiḥ.*

I invite him to give a plain and straightforward translation of these lines according to his assertion that *bhaviṣye* means “in the future”; and also to explain where these Purāṇas found those kings *kathita* or *prathita*<sup>1</sup>; whether their general agreement in the account implies that they had a common source; if it does not, why the agreement exists; and if it does, what common source they could have had.

With regard to the phrase *bhaviṣya-jñair* (or *bhaviṣya-jñair*) *udahrtāḥ*, found in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa*, he says the *Matsya* answers all my reasoning (pp. 1023-4) but that is just what it does not do, because it avoids all comparison by using a wholly different expression *īgṛṇe gītāḥ purāṇamūḥ*, and therefore leaves my arguments untouched.

As regards dates, his statement of the facts and arguments that I put forward does not correctly summarize what I said,<sup>2</sup> for example, about the date AD 458 in particular.<sup>3</sup> My own statement must be referred to. He seeks to explain the line *nata-terāṇa Yajñasc* found in *Satukarnikah*, found in five MSS. of the *Matsya* by comparing it with the line about Senapati (p. 1025) — but a comparison will show that they are not similar and he wholly ignores the fact that most copies of the *Matsya* say Yajñairi reigned twenty-nine years and that the *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa* say nineteen years. That line obviously purports to have been written when Yajñasc was reigning only nine years. Upon the question how certain we can be

<sup>1</sup> *Path* in the Purāṇas always implies writing, as far as I am aware.

<sup>2</sup> So also compare Professor Macdonell's statement with Professor Keith's version of it (pp. 742-3).

expressions should be read, his remark (p. 1025, n. 3) is pointless. I never asserted that the numerals are accurate, and Mr. V. Smith regards the statement as inaccurate, rejecting 360 even more emphatically than 163. Again, in his remarks about the Tughras (p. 1026) he suppresses the fact that I said the line is corrupt and merely suggested 105 or 107 years as a probable figure.

Professor Keith says (p. 1026), "Mr Pargiter lays great stress on the fact that it is incredible that the Guptas should not have been mentioned if the *Mataya* account was compiled in their epoch. But here we are without cogent arguments. I pointed out in my book why the argument *ex silentio* regarding the Guptas is incontestable. In his opinion then silence in an account that professes to be historical regarding one of the greatest dynasties that reigned in India has no cogency, but silence in the *Rigveda* where it has no significance supplies conclusive historical arguments." If the silence is not cogent as regards the Guptas is it cogent as regards Harsha? or the Mohammedan invasion? He politely calls my suggestions a wild conjecture (p. 1025), and then offers as *another* a conjecture of his own which wholly disregards the cardinal fact that the *Mataya* knows nothing of the

U. A. S. 1914 pp. 736, 739, 742. Here his remark, that I completely misunderstand his "statement that the Vedic texts are not books of history" (p. 1031, note), calls for notice. In the argument at p. 736 I said he shifted his ground, started a new argument, and charged me with misunderstanding (pp. 739, 741-2). Similarly here I quoted his own words to speak for themselves. Now he says that phrase means "that they do not deal with history", but this is not the meaning of that phrase. There was no misunderstanding, he is shifting his ground. This new rendering, however, does not help me because it does not affect Professor Macdonell's plain statement (p. 742-3) and because it is obviously absurd to base historical arguments on the silence of texts that "do not deal with history" (p. 742). He adds, "their historic context is incidental." I am not sure what these words mean. If he means that historical facts are mentioned incidentally, I assent, so far as the facts are contemporaneous; but, where these texts speak of bygone matters, obviously they merely draw them from tradition with no guarantee of infallibility.

Guptas. He improves thereon by another conjecture, hardly consistent therewith, that the *Mataya* was redacted later still, in the fifth century (p. 1026).

Six kinds of evidence were adduced to show that the dynastic account of the Kali age was composed in Prakrit originally. He criticizes several of them partially, but it is impossible for me to discuss all the details fully here; hence, while referring to my original statement for the full presentation, I will notice those main points on which his remarks have a general bearing.

Four instances of metrical irregularities in the second pāda of śloka lines were pointed out. They are of two kinds. In the first three, *Nirāmitrāt tu Kṣemakāḥ, samā bhokṣyanti trīṃśatim*, and *astāvimsātir Haihayāḥ*, the fifth syllable is long by position though it should be short; and in the fourth, *Bhagavān avatarisyati*, there is an excess syllable. He disposes of them all together with the remark, "they [the metrical criteria] do not weigh if we admit, as we must, that the strict rules of metre are not applicable in these cases" (p. 1027). It is quite true that similar metrical irregularities are found elsewhere; but the two kinds are distinct and must be considered separately, and as regards the fourth instance he does not meet my argument.

The first three instances violate the diiambic close of the śloka line. Professor Hopkins points out "that the diiambus was regarded in general as obligatory". Also, referring to the many "cases in which Sanskrit grammar is violated", he says, "the most frequent cause of such violation is the well-nigh obligatory diiambus at the close of a verse"<sup>1</sup>; and he gives examples to show that Sanskrit grammar was violated rather than that the rule about the fifth syllable should be disregarded.<sup>2</sup> Metre therefore was far more imperative than grammar. Here also such

<sup>1</sup> *Great Epic of India*, pp. 244-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, pp. 245-7.

violations of metre are but few. Professor Keith's explanation is therefore merely his own assertion; there is no "must" in the matter at all. Moreover, it is no real explanation; it merely shirks explanation, for the questions to be answered are these. Why in these and similar cases do words occur which infringe the well-nigh obligatory rule? And how is it that they infringe the rule in their Sanskrit forms only and that their Prakrit forms would satisfy the rule?

Next come grammatical irregularities. Professor Keith refers to the line in the *Bhāgavata*, *atha Magadha-rajano bhavitaro vadanti te* (p. 1028). This is good Pali. That the verb *vadanti* governs the preceding words and the line is not Sanskrit is clearly proved by the fact that it was considered necessary to emend *bhavitaro* to *bhavino ye* in various copies. He speaks of a blunder: it is not mine. For the two other instances that he deals with (p. 1028) and the cases of grammatical discord (p. 1029) it is sufficient to refer to my original remarks; and here I need only notice the general comments with which he disposes of those and other irregularities. "We have to do with accounts composed in the careless Sanskrit which is characteristic of the pre-classical Sūtra texts and which persists in the epic" (p. 1028), and "bad Sanskrit is a sufficient explanation of these vagaries" (p. 1029). These are no explanations; they merely shirk explanation, for it is no explanation of an irregularity to say that irregularities occur elsewhere, and that is all that his statements amount to. The question to be faced is this. Why do such irregularities occur in compositions which show that their authors could write good Sanskrit?

Professor Hopkins has suggested patois as the explanation of such and other irregularities, metrical and grammatical<sup>1</sup>; and that points in the right direction; but it involves a further question, why should patois appear

<sup>1</sup> *Great Epic of India*, pp. 247, 292, 293-4.

amid good Sanskrit? Patois means vernacular, and vernacular in ancient India means Prakrit. His suggestion therefore means that such irregularities are due to Prakrit; and the question becomes this, why do Prakrit influences appear in Sanskrit compositions? My explanation (confining myself here to this dynastic account) is that the verses were originally popular and in Prakrit, and when they assumed a Sanskrit garb, Prakrit forms sometimes survived, especially when metre had to be safeguarded and Sanskrit forms would have violated it; sometimes the redactor preferred ungrammatical Sanskrit forms rather than violate the metre; and sometimes correct Sanskrit forms were used with oversight of the metre. Can Professor Keith give a better explanation?

The reading *eka-kṣatra* instead of *eku-cchatra* in the Bhāgavata is due to the influence of some copyists, because it is found in two or three only of the many copies consulted; but his attempt to explain thereby the form *Śitunāku* for *Śitunāga* in the *Matsya* and *Vāyu* (p. 1029) overlooks the patent fact that *k* instead of *g* is the almost universal reading in those books, so that by parity of reasoning *g* is due to the influence of copyists and not *k*, and his reasoning refutes itself.

As regards his remarks on the use of expletives, it is sufficient to point out that he has carefully chosen the least striking of the lines quoted and ignored the more striking. How does his argument look, in the face of these two lines?—

Svātīś ca bhavitā rājā samās tv aṣṭādaśaiva tu.  
śatāni trīṇy aśtīm ca Śakā hy aṣṭādaśaiva tu.

His concluding remarks about the script overlook these elementary facts; this dynastic account had been written down, see *ante*; two scripts were in use then, Kharoṣṭhi and Brāhmī; and it must have been written in one or

other of these two. If, then, errors are found which can only be explained by confusion of letters in the Kharoṣṭhi script and not in any other script, what is the natural inference ?

The chief feature of the dynastic account is the great quantity of grammatical irregularities, while violations of metre are very few. Those irregularities are far more numerous here than can, I believe, be matched anywhere else within an equal quantity of verses. They have all been discussed in my book, and Professor Keith has dealt with some of them. The question, why they occur, is not to be decided by such comments as he has offered, which are no real explanations. The evidence is cumulative, and the whole has to be considered fairly. He contests my explanation. I invite him to answer these elementary questions. When was the dynastic account (not the Purāṇas generally) compiled ? Where did the author get his material for it from ? In what shape did that material exist ? What did the author do with it when he composed this prophetic account ?

F. E. PARCITER.

#### RAMANUJA AND MELUKOTE

It is well known that the great reformer Rāmānuja lived for several years, owing to persecution by the Chōla king, at Mēlukōṭe, which is Yadugiri, Yādavagiri, or Tiru-Nārāyaṇapuram, near French Rocks, Mysore District, and that he reconstructed and consecrated the temple of Nārāyaṇa there through the aid of his disciple the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvarḍhana. A very brief but ancient record, under the title of *Jīrṇoddhāra-krama*, has been recently discovered by me, and it contains valuable information about the exact dates of some leading events, and about the actual amounts contributed by Viṣṇuvarḍhana.

## RĀMĀNUJA AND MELUKŌṬE

to write the several items of reconstruction and consecration of the temple. The record was found by me among the valuable manuscripts belonging to the Śrī-Yatirāja-Maṭha, the abode of Rāmānuja at Mēlukōṭe; and the late Swāmi of the Maṭha was kind enough to lend it to me. Its authenticity seems to me unquestionable, inasmuch as it gives a brief account of the period from A.D. 1099 to 1242, and stops there abruptly, showing that the author must have lived about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., and that he must have intended the record to be continued by his followers.

I give below a list of events and dates as found in this record; and I hope to publish an exact rendering of the whole record at an early date.

	Cyclic year, date, etc.	A.D.
1. Rāmānuja's discovery of the god Nārāyaṇa at Mēlukōṭe.	Bahudhanva, Māgha 4u 5, Saturday, (Revntl).	1099
2. Viṣṇuvardhana pays his respects to the god.	Same year, Māgha 4u 13 (Sunday).	..
2. Viṣṇuvardhana's return to Toppūr after sanctioning 5000 <i>gadyāṇas</i> for the re- construction of the temple.	Same year, Māgha ba 7 (Tue-day).	..
1. Construction commenced.	Same year, Phal- guna 4u 13 (Friday), Vṛishabha lacna, (Hasta-nakshatra).	
5. Construction finished.	Śvabhanu. Vaiśākha ba 5.	1104
6. Śrī-Yatirāja-Maṭha built for Rāmānuja.	Same year.	..
7. Rāmānuja left Mēlukōṭe for Delhi to bring the pro- cessional image Śalvappille or Cheluvārāya-svāmi.	Vyaya. Chaitra 4u 3	1107
8. Return to Mēlukōṭe with the image.	Vikṛti, Āṣvayuja 4u 7.	1111

- |   | Cyclic year,<br>date, etc.  | A.D. |
|---|-----------------------------|------|
| 9. Rāmānuja's return to Śrī-<br>raṅgam, after consecrating<br>the temple of Tirupati on<br>his way. | Śubhakṛit, Pūshya<br>śu 18. | 1128 |

The total period of his stay at Mēlukōṭe  
or of absence from Śrīraṅgam is here  
calculated as 23 years, 11 months.

- |  |                                    |                 |
|--|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 10. Rāmānuja's successor ap-<br>pointed by him at the<br>Yatirāja-Maṭha, Mēlukōṭe. | U'p to Pramāthin,<br>Chaitra ba 6. | 1128-59         |
| 11. (Next Svāmi) Nārttyaṇa Jiyar.  | U'p to Prabhava,<br>Pūshya śu 1.   | 1159 to<br>1207 |
| 12. (Next .. ) Yatirāja Jiyar.   |                                    | 1207-42         |
| 13. (Next .. ) Yadugiri Nārā-<br>yaṇa Jiyar.                                       |                                    |                 |

There is nothing very improbable in the above list being correct. I leave it to experts to judge of the accuracy of the dates; but I believe that full credit is, all the same, due to the author who has so carefully preserved the traditional account. Some great calamity, owing to Muhammadan invasions, seems to have occurred at Mēlukōṭe about the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century; and the line of succession of the *Gurus* of the Śrī-Yatirāja-Maṭha must have been interrupted for some decades. It must have been resumed in the fifteenth century, when the town was rebuilt (vide *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. xvii, 1908, p. 290).

M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR.

The value of the record mentioned by Mr. Narasimhiengar can be judged when we have its text and translation before us. Meanwhile, something must be said about some of his notes on it.

When the writer of a paper such as that given above leaves the accuracy of his dates to be considered by



"experts", he certainly makes matters easy for himself. But a more satisfactory course—in fact, the only really correct one—would be that, if he himself cannot do what is necessary, he should enlist the sympathetic help of some properly qualified friend, who will fix all his dates for him before he begins to write, and will lend his own name in support of results to that extent. If that cannot be done, he should find from some standard table—(e.g., Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, table 1)—the year A.D. in which a given cyclic year or a given Śaka year (current or expired, as the case may be) begins; and, for such a period as that with which we are concerned here, he should take that year A.D. as the equivalent for the first ten months of the Hindū year, placing the last two months in the next year A.D. this is not a scientific course; but it is admissible if nothing better can really be done. It is of no real use to embark on chronological discussions without first having the essential bases definitely settled on some uniform and recognizable lines.

The dates in this case, and Mr. Narasimhiengar's treatment of them, are open to remarks as follows. —

No. 1. This date may possibly have some special calendrical interest. We understand that the record gives the cyclic year Bahudhānya, Māgha Śukla 5 Saturday, with the moon in the Rēvati *nakṣatra*. The general facts of the case show that this Bahudhānya is the one which coincided with the Chaitrādi Śaka year 1020 expired, and began on 6 March, A.D. 1098. If we follow the system of true intercalation, according to which there was no intercalated month in this year, these details do not work out satisfactorily: Māgha Śukla 5 was not a Saturday (and was not in A.D. 1099), it was Thursday, 30 December, A.D. 1098, on which day it ended at about 18 hrs. 29 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), and the moon did not enter Rēvati until about 13 hrs. 15 min. after mean sunrise on the Friday. But by the

system of mean intercalation the month Māgha itself was intercalary in this year. For the first Māgha the result stands as above. But in the second Māgha the given tithi was a Saturday, as required: it ended at about 13 hr. 32 min. after mean sunrise on Saturday, 29 January, A.D. 1099; and on this day the moon was in Rāvati at sunrise and up to about 1 hr. 30 min. after mean sunrise. However, whether this result really justifies a conclusion that the system of mean intercalation prevailed at Mēlukōṭe at the end of the eleventh century, we must hesitate to decide.

Nos. 2, 3, 4. I do not spend any time over these three dates, because, the weekdays being shown in brackets, it is not clear whether they are really given in the record, or whether they have been added by Mr. Narasimhiengar by inference from No. 1: it is enough to say that not from either point of view mentioned under that date does Phalguna śukla 13 work out to a Friday. For the rest, these three dates certainly fell in the opening months of A.D. 1099, though there are reasons for thinking that that is not the understanding on which Mr. Narasimhiengar has referred them to that year.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining dates might of course be calculated (except No. 6, in which there are no details beyond the cyclic year): but they cannot be tested like No. 1. They are open, however, to the following remarks:—

No. 10, Pramāthin, Chaitra bahula 6, certainly fell in A.D. 1159, and No. 11, Prabhava, Pausa śukla 1, certainly fell in A.D. 1207. But the other A.D. dates are wrong: thus:—

No. 5. The given day in the year Svabhānu fell in A.D. 1103; not 1104.

<sup>1</sup> He seems to have taken A.D. 1099 as the general equivalent of Bahudhānya, as a result of which these three dates and also No. 1 would belong to the early part of A.D. 1100: see what he has said about Bahudhānya on p. 153 below, and my comment on p. 154-5.

No. 6. For Svabhānu without any specified day in it the proper equivalent is A.D. 1103, or more strictly 1103-4; not 1104.

is the year Vyaya fell in

year Vikrītī fell in

in the year Śubhakṛit fell in

J. F. F.

### THE INITIAL AND CLOSING DATES OF THE REIGN OF THE HOYSALA KING VISHNUVARDHANA

In the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and in the Mysore Gazetteer Mr. Rice invariably gives A.D. 1104-41 as the period of the reign of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana, also known as Bittidēva and Bittiga; but in his *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* he says (p. 99):—"In what year his reign began has not been discovered. DB 11 might have decided the question, being of his 12th year, but unfortunately no year is named. The earliest actual date that can be cited for him is 1111 in Sh. 89, but Kd. 164 represents him as ruling in 1100: this must have been in association with Ballaṣa, his elder brother.' Accordingly, he gives A.D. 1111-41 as the dates of Vishnuvardhana in the dynastic list on p. 97 of the same book.

#### *Initial date of the reign*

I have just discovered the initial date of Vishnuvardhana's reign from a close study of the Hoysala inscriptions. The inscription Ak. 110, which mentions him as ruling at Dōrasamudra during the reign of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla, i.e. Vikramāditya VI, does not give the Śaka year, but gives the year

of the grant as *ḥṣṇeya Dundubhi-samvatsara*. This year Dundubhi corresponds to A.D. 1142; and the expression *ḥṣṇeya* cannot mean anything else than the 45th year of Vishnuvardhana's reign, for it cannot refer to the Chalukyan era that began in A.D. 1076; in that reckoning Dundubhi was the 67th year. So we come to the conclusion that Vishnuvardhana's reign actually began in  $1142 - 45 =$  A.D. 1097. This date is confirmed by various traditional and historical records which unanimously state that Rāmānuja, the great Vaishṇava reformer, converted (in A.D. 1098) king Bittidēva, who was ruling the Hoysala kingdom, having his residence at Tonnūr (Tonḍanūr), and that, with the king's aid, Rāmānuja discovered and consecrated the image of the god Nārāyaṇa at Mēlukote in the year Śaka 1021 (A.D. 1099), corresponding to Baludhānya.

Vishnuvardhana must have been *Tuvuraju* for some years before A.D. 1097, for we find references to him in the earlier inscriptions also. He must have ruled simultaneously with his elder brother Ballāja I for some years, as we may judge from the inscriptions.

### *Closing date of the reign*

Although we cannot exactly find, at present, the closing date of Vishnuvardhana's reign, we can safely assert that he must have reigned for several years after A.D. 1141. Mr. Rice has confounded one Bittidēva, a general of king Vishnuvardhana with Vishnuvardhana himself, being misled by the similarity of names, and infers (p. 101) from Cui 96 that Vishnuvardhana died in A.D. 1141, but the inscription really records the death of the general Bittidēva.

The following inscriptions, all referring themselves to the reign of Vishnuvardhana, clearly prove that he must have ruled up to A.D. 1156, though his son Narasimha I

is said in some of the inscriptions to be ruling along with him (as *Yuvarāja*) during this period :—

1.	<i>Epi. Carn.</i> , vol. 5, Ak. 110 of A.D. 1142
2.	„ vol. 4, Ng. 94 „ 1142
3.	„ vol. 6, Kd. 99 „ 1148
4.	„ vol. 6, Mg. 8 „ 1148
5.	„ vol. 4, Ng. 100 „ 1145
6.	„ vol. 6, Kd. 84 „ 1148
7.	„ vol. 5, Hn. 65 „ 1149
8.	„ vol. 12, Ck. 40 „ 1149
9.	„ vol. 12, Ck. 28 „ 1156

For an account of the general Bittidēva above referred to, see *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 5, introd., pp. 16, 17.

A detailed discussion of these points will be found in a paper on the chronology of the Hoysalas which I hope to publish shortly.

M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR.

Mr. Narasimhiengar seems to take his A.D. dates from the headings of the translations in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes. That is not a safe course—the dates must be read in the texts; and then the year A.D. must be fixed by ascertaining whether a given Śaka year is to be taken as current or as expired, and by paying attention to the further details of the month etc. For instance.—Vol. 4, trans. p. 139, does place his No. 5, Ng. 100, in “1145 A.D.” But the text shows (p. 245) that the record is dated on the day of the winter solstice of the Raktākshin *samvatsara*, Śaka 1067. A reference to any standard table—(e.g., Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, table 1)—will show that the record means Śaka 1067 *current*. And so the given day places the record in A.D. 1144 (not 1145).

Dates taken from other sources must be treated with equal care. On p. 183 above Mr. Narasimhiengar has said “Śaka 1021 (A.D. 1099), corresponding to Bahudhānya.”

A very short inquiry would have shown that this remark could not stand. Śaka 1021 expired (as most usually cited) was certainly A.D. 1099 (in the sense that the first ten months of that Śaka year fell in A.D. 1099), but the cyclic year was Pramāthin: Bahudhānya was Śaka 1021 current, corresponding, in the sense stated above, to A.D. 1098 (not 1099).

These discrepancies do not affect Mr. Narasimhiengar's present results. But attention is drawn to them to illustrate further the point (compare p. 149 above) that anyone who aims at dealing with chronological matters, and wishes to inspire confidence in his results, must first get all his dates properly settled, so that they will stand being checked by his readers.

A remark may be added about the final date, No. 9. The record, vol. 12, Ck. 28, is dated in the Dhātu *saṃvatsara*, Śaka 1079. This, again, is a current Śaka year and in this case the equivalent is given rightly as "1156 A.D." at trans. p. 80. The text shows (p. 136) that the record seems to have been dated on the day of the winter solstice. If so, it takes Viṣṇuvardhana on to quite the end of A.D. 1156.

J. F. F.

#### MR. MARSHALL'S TAXILA INSCRIPTION

Having now, by the courtesy of Mr. Marshall, been favoured with a copy of the new inscription, I may be allowed to add the following observations, which are partly of an apologetic character:—

1. First, I may venture to express a high appreciation of the great exactness of the reading, which leaves practically nothing to reward the scrutiny of other scholars. The photograph itself is a remarkable technical achievement, being pieced together out of as many as sixteen fragments.

2. The reading *pradisturita*, for which I had proposed *prutithavita*, is in both instances quite certain. The form, being undoubtedly an equivalent of *prutithavita* = *prutithūpita*, must be regarded as a characteristic of the local dialect.

3. Inspection seems to confirm the readings *U(rusi)keni* (ll. 1-2), *Imtaphria* (l. 2), proposed by me; in the case of *(ni)rva(nae)* also, for *(m)a(nae)*, the curve in the *a* is favourable (Mr. Marshall, I learn, does not assent).

4. *(Sa)dhīham(na)* and *a . de* (in l. 5) are still obscure. We expect the inscription to end *ayaṃ deya-dharma-paricāga*, which may have been wrongly copied by the (rather careless) workman.

5. In *pracega* (l. 4) the vowel *e* seems to be indicated.

6. The important *ayasa* (in l. 1) appears to stand good. Whether the *viyasa*, which has been proposed by Dr. Fleet (October, 1914, pp. 998-9) and against which I have no prejudice (except, perhaps, on grounds of date and dialect), may possibly be read, I am unable to decide (Mr. Marshall is certain of *ayasa*).

F. W. THOMAS.

#### LA FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Le conseil de la fondation n'ayant subi aucun changement depuis le mois de novembre 1913, est composé comme suit : MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), H. T. Karsten, M. Th. Houtsma, T. J. de Boer et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Vers la fin de l'an dernier, le conseil a pris à la charge de la fondation l'édition critique du *Kitāb al-Fākhir d'al-Mufaddal* par M. C. S. Storey ; elle paraîtra avant peu chez l'éditeur Brill à Leiden.

3. Au printemps le conseil a accordé une subvention au docteur G. Bergsträsser, de Leipzig, en vue d'une enquête sur la langue arabe parlée en Syrie et en

Palestine. Un rapport succinct de ce voyage se trouve dans la ZDMG. lxxviii, pp. 600-2, 1914.

4. Le capital de la fondation étant resté le même, le montant nominal est de 21.500 florins (43,000 francs). En outre, au mois de novembre, 1914, les rentes disponibles montaient à plus de 2,600 florins (5,200 francs).

5. On se permet d'attirer l'attention sur ce qu'il est encore disponible un certain nombre d'exemplaires de la reproduction de la *Hamásah d'al-Buhturí*. En 1909, la fondation a fait paraître chez l'éditeur Brill à Leiden cette reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leiden réputé unique. C'est au profit de la fondation que les exemplaires sont vendus; le prix en est de deuxcents francs. Ainsi les acheteurs contribueront à atteindre le but que se propose la fondation: de favoriser l'étude des langues orientales et de leur littérature.

*Novembre, 1914.*





## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS BELONGING TO THE KOUYUNJIK COLLECTION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.**  
By ROBERT FRANCIS HARTER, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature at the University of Chicago. Parts XII and XIII. The University of Chicago Press; the Cambridge University Press, London and Edinburgh.

Each volume contains 116 octavo plates, with xviii and xix pages of titles, dedication (to the Rev. C. H. W. Johns and the Rev. A. H. Sayce, D.D.), preface, and indices. The texts in vol. xii number 100, and those in vol. xiii 97. Many of them are mere fragments, and only twenty-five or thirty have, wholly or in part, the names of the writers. Among the most interesting names may be mentioned Sin-tabni-usur (two documents), Šama'-gunu (probably two likewise), Bēl-ibni, Merodach-baladan, and there are also documents from the Urites and the people of Aššur. The following notes will give an idea of the contents of these interesting communications:—

1216, which bears forty-seven longish lines, is in the Babylonian character, and occupies three plates. It mentions a certain Bēl-ušēzib, a servant of the king, who honoured his master. As he refers to "Esarhaddon, the son of the king my lord", it would seem that this communication was addressed to Sennacherib. He apparently speaks of a plot to kill him and also the king's servants. As he refers to someone (? Esarhaddon) who would (re)build Babylon and complete É-sagila (the Temple of Belus there), this letter may belong to the period after Sennacherib's destruction of that city. The text may be a communication from a Babylonian who remained faithful to Sennacherib notwithstanding all his atrocities, but the imperfection of the record leaves this uncertain.

Another important communication is No. 1236, which is from the governors (*hasanāti*), the mayor (?) (*aba*), the heads of the city Aššur, and the Aššurites, small and great. It speaks of governor Ištar-na'id, and apparently of the destruction which he had wrought. After a reference to talents and manas of gold and silver, there is a mutilated and therefore untranslatable passage. It was with the following petition:—

"To the king our lord we say: If he deliver us to the governors, thy servants will die. We have sent 2 letters to the king our lord, but we have not seen an answer. We give our persons to death. Let the king not forsake his servants."





























It would be interesting to know upon what occasion this was written.

Another interesting specimen of tablets of this class is 83-1-18, 53, one of the tablets unearthed by Hormuzd Rassam in 1882, Harper's No. 1241—

. . . which in the midst of . . . [Pek]od (?) upon us  
. . . [to the king] our lord we send, and [let him ' ] send  
a force to help us. And the Gurasimmu tribe is set  
[against] us. An enemy has gone or has prepared (?) (to  
go) against them. The authority of Assyria is remote  
from them. And none among the governors has gone to  
their aid—they have given (their) hand to the enemy.  
Eridu and Kullab, which are left, if they can, will stand  
against the enemy. All the Gurasimmu tribe has now  
revolted, no city there supports Assyria except Ur and  
Kisik, and the city of Abu-iddina. And the king our lord  
knows that Ur in the midst of Akkad is [faithful ']. To  
that end we were at first perfect with our help. Pekod  
and Tamtim hate us, and devising evil against the house  
of thy gods, by killing and plundering they will put an  
end to us; everything falling, we shall pass into their  
hands. Now Tamtim, Pekod, and Gurasimmu have  
gathered troops against us. [Let] the king our lord send

a force to the help of the house of his gods. Thou hast given the property of the kings thy fathers to the god Sin. The hands of thine enemy thou shalt take, and the land shall [not] depart from the hands of the king, and Assyria [shall be . . . ] before them. The great men of the king [shall go] or shall prepare (to go) to keep the watch. . . .

Though there is neither name of writer nor of any other personage in this inscription to help to determine the date, other texts seem to furnish the needful indications. Thus No. 1206 describes the Gurasim (= Gurasimmu) as being ruled over by a certain Balat-nu, and this name implies that they were of Babylonian race. No. 1342 which also refers to them, mentions a certain Bêl-ibni, whom Aššur-bani-Āpli seems to have sent as his representative in Babylonia. To all appearance the period was that of this Assyrian king's expedition against his brother Šawaš-šuw-ukin (Sardanapalus).

The variant writings of the name Gurasimmu are interesting     , Gurasimmu,     , Gurasimmu,          . Gurasim No. 1244 has the combination         U<sup>r</sup> and Gursimmu, without any prefix or suffix

All will learn of the author's death with great regret, but the remaining volumes of the series will duly appear, and form a monument to his memory.

T. G. PINCHES.

VORDERASIATISCHE BIBLIOTHEK. Urkunden des alt-babylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts, bearbeitet von M. SCHORR. 8vo. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913.

This, a thick book of 618 pages, is the first part of the eighth section into which the series is divided. The

documents translated number 317, and are preceded by an introduction of lvi pages, treating of the literature of Babylonian law, and the various branches of the same, with bibliographies of the works bearing upon the texts dealt with. At the end of the work we find lists of names of persons, gods, temples, animals, countries, people, places, gates, streets, rivers, and canals. The renderings themselves are supported by lists of Semitic and Sumerian words, and an appendix gives a list of dates of contemporary rulers, in which we find, first in order, the well-known name *Narām-Sin*, who appears as a contemporary of *Sumu-Abum*, the founder of *Hammurabi's* dynasty. It is needless to say that this is not regarded as the renowned son of *Sargon of Agade*, who reigned about 2800 B.C.

The documents translated, which belong exclusively to the period of *Hammurabi's* dynasty, are classed in sections under letters, and subsections under Roman numerals, in accordance with the very practical system adopted. Each section has a good description of the texts translated therein, so that the reader easily obtains an idea of their most interesting points. The scope of the work, however, precludes any extended examination of these in the present notice.

The transcriptions and translations are in parallel columns, but space is economized by giving the names of the witnesses in smaller type and in single column without translation. The body of the work is set in the type known as "English" old style of a very satisfactory clearness. In the transliterations the author shows his caution by transcribing the Sumerian phrases found in these texts from time to time syllabically, and not as connected words; their Semitic equivalents, however, are given in notes. There is no cuneiform.

The following specimen-text will show the system adopted:—

195 : Sippar, 20. Nisannum, 16. Ammi-saduqa.

**Text:** M 107 (88-5-12, 57). **Trans.** KU iii 75.  
**Contents:** W., T., and P. each receive 1 male or female slave as their share of inheritance, after the eldest brother has sworn concerning the amount of the inheritance. In addition W. kindly makes over (?) to his two brothers the property which he had obtained by his own efforts. 4 judges, 5 witnesses, and the archivist.

<sup>1</sup> Ir<sup>tu</sup> am<sup>tum</sup> an<sup>um</sup>-Ba-  
 Ša ga-du mār<sup>u</sup> māt<sup>u</sup> <sup>2</sup> zitti  
 urad-<sup>u</sup> marduk dēkū<sup>m</sup>  
<sup>3</sup> Ir<sup>tu</sup> uradum šilli<sup>it</sup>-<sup>u</sup> ir-  
 ru <sup>4</sup> zitti ib-ni-<sup>u</sup> marduk  
<sup>5</sup> Ir<sup>tu</sup> am<sup>tum</sup> la-la-bi-tum  
<sup>6</sup> zitti pa-az-za-lum <sup>7</sup> mi-im-  
 ma an-ni-i-im <sup>8</sup> zittā<sup>it</sup>  
 mār<sup>u</sup> māt<sup>u</sup> urad-<sup>u</sup> ul-maš-  
 šī-tum

<sup>9</sup> Ša urad-<sup>u</sup> marduk  
 dēkū<sup>m</sup> (?) <sup>10</sup> a-ḥu-šu-nu <sup>11</sup> i-  
 na e-mu-uk ru-ma-ni-šu  
<sup>12</sup> ir-šu-ū-ma <sup>13</sup> a-na ib-  
 ni-<sup>u</sup> marduk <sup>14</sup> ū pa-az-  
 za-lum aḥ-ḥi-šu <sup>15</sup> i-na tu-  
 bi-ti-šu i-zu-zu

<sup>16</sup> iš-tu urad-<sup>u</sup> marduk  
 dēkū<sup>m</sup> (?) a-ḥu-šu-nu <sup>17</sup> a-  
 na mār-<sup>u</sup> ul-maš-<sup>u</sup> ul-maš-<sup>u</sup> ul-maš-<sup>u</sup>  
<sup>18</sup> i-na ni-iš ilim <sup>19</sup> a-na  
 ib-ni-<sup>u</sup> marduk <sup>20</sup> ū pa-az-  
 za-lum aḥ-ḥi-šu <sup>21</sup> ū ub-bi-  
 bu <sup>22</sup> ū ul i-tu-ur-ru-ma  
<sup>23</sup> I ib-ni-<sup>u</sup> marduk ū pa-  
 az-za-lum <sup>24</sup> mār<sup>u</sup> māt<sup>u</sup>  
 urad-<sup>u</sup> ul-maš-<sup>u</sup> ul-maš-<sup>u</sup> ul-maš-<sup>u</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 slave-woman Anum-  
 gainil (?) with her children,  
 is the share of Warad-  
 Marduk, the caravan-  
 leader (?); 1 slave Šilli-Irra  
 is the share of Ibni-Marduk ;  
<sup>2</sup> 1 slave-woman Lalabitum  
 is the share of Pazzalum. All  
 this are the shares of Warad-  
 Ulmaššitum's children.

What Warad-Marduk, the  
 caravan - leader (?), their  
 brother, has acquired by his  
 own exertion, he has shared  
 to Ibni-Marduk and Paza-  
 lum, his brothers, in his  
 kindness.

As Warad-Marduk, the  
 caravan - leader (?), their  
 brother, with regard to the  
 property of Warad-Ulmaš-  
 šitum, their father, has  
 justified himself with his  
 brothers, Ibni-Marduk and  
 Pazzalum, by the oath of  
 God, Ibni - Marduk and  
 Pazzalum, sons of Warad-  
 Ulmaššitum, will not proceed

<sup>20</sup> a-na warad<sup>21</sup> marduk against Warad-Marduk, the  
 dēktm (?) a-ši-tu-nu <sup>22</sup> i-ul caravan - leader (?), their  
 i-ra-ag-ga-mu. brother.

<sup>23</sup> niš<sup>24</sup> šamaš<sup>25</sup> marduk <sup>26</sup> They have sworn by  
 i am-mi-sa-du-ga Lugal-E Šamaš, Marduk, and Ammi-  
<sup>27</sup> In. Pa(d). Demet saduga, the king.

Here come the names of the four judges: Nannar-manšum, Sin-išmeani, Ibqu-Annunitum, and Ibqu-ili-šu. Among the other witnesses may be mentioned Mār-ūmi-šrē ("the son of the 20th day"), an Amorite, and Tamlatum, son of Ibqu-nār Idigna ("the river Tigris has carried away," "cleansed," or the like).<sup>1</sup>

The impressions of the cylinder-seals (which are not mentioned in the work) give an indication of the parentage of the judges, and from them we learn that Nannar-manšum was a worshipper of the deified king Ammi-šitana, whilst Ibku-Annunitum adored the reigning king, Ammisaduga, as did also Warad-Maruduk, the eldest brother, and Mār-ūmi-šrē. Other cylinder-impressions are from the seals of Ibni-Maruduk, the second brother: Warad- . . . (probably the name of a witness read by Schorr as Warad-štil-anna) son of Ib[gatum]—he was devotee of two gods; a certain Taqir- . . . son of Na'id-ila . . .; a witness whose cylinder-seal bears no name, but a dedication to a god; Tamlatum the second witness, whose device was apparently not accompanied by his name; and another, possibly a woman. The document was evidently regarded as an important one.

The names of the witnesses are followed by the date, which Dr. Schorr gives as follows:—

<sup>28</sup> waraš nēannim am	On the 30th of Nisan-
30 <sup>th</sup> am <sup>29</sup> nu am-mi-sa-du	nuta, <sup>30</sup> in the year in which
ga lugal-e <sup>31</sup> imin-bi maš	king Ammisaduga, by the
dingir babbar lugal-a-ni-tu	powerful command of
<sup>32</sup> id am-mi-sa-du-ga nu	Šamaš, his lord, the canal
šu-ut ni-ti.	Ammi-saduga-nuḫud-niši.

<sup>1</sup> These names are read otherwise by the author.

The verb is wanting, but is easily supplied; the year was that named after the digging of the canal in question—a canal whose name conferred upon the king a glory exceeding that of the greatest conqueror ever known: "Ammi-zaduga (-saduga) is the people's abundance" (cf. Poebel, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. vi, pt. ii, p. 104).

This specimen of the text is one of the inscriptions preserved in the British Museum, and was first published by the German Assyriologist Bruno Meissner (M) in 1893, with several others belonging to our national collection and that of the Royal Museums of Berlin. The number of British Museum inscriptions included in the present work is about 124. Improved readings are in many cases given.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMED. By the Rev. Canon SELL, D.D.  
The Christian Literature Society for India. pp. xiv  
and 232. London, Madras, and Colombo, 1913.

To treat on so intricate a subject as the life of Mohammed and the early history of Islam in so small a compass means to give little more than the bare results of original research into the sources. As the numerous quotations from modern works show, such research seems not to have been the foremost idea in the mind of the author. He was therefore free to produce a popular book which makes no pretensions to add much to our present knowledge on the subject. As far as is possible in a book with a religious tendency, the author has striven to judge men and matters impartially and with discretion. His relying in the main on secondary sources, however, has left little room for historical criticism. He appears to take many of the legends bearing on Mohammed's early



life and prophethip as historical, although their fanciful character has been shown again and again. In the list of works mentioned as his authorities we miss Prince Teano's gigantic *Annals* with their compilation of every detail that counts. The author reproduces the story of the meeting of the young Mohammed with the monk Bahira, and the anecdote connected with his name *al-Amin*, without offering any criticism. The discussion of the views of modern writers on Mohammed's "fits" is likewise without result. We should rather agree with the Moslim writers who "do not admit this theory of fits" (p. 31). At most they might be reduced to the effects of nervous excitement, caused by suspense, which is quite explicable. The author also upholds the story of the *futra*, or the supposed interval of several years between the first and subsequent revelations, but no evidence to support it exists. It has even been disproved on reliable grounds. *Hijra* the author still translates by "flight", which is now obsolete, because it does not agree with the real meaning of the word.

In spite of the numerous works extant on the life of Mohammed there still remains an enormous mass of detail to be elucidated. Even the broad historical facts are so mixed up with what is doubtful and entirely fictitious that the work of digging out the kernel of truth is one of great delicacy and which requires an almost unflinching discrimination. The author of our book, with his profound knowledge of the Arabic language and the literature concerned, combined with his undoubted gift as a popular writer, could be of great assistance to students by giving the greater part of his attention to the original sources. The few debatable points mentioned do not in any way detract from the merit of the book.

H. HINCHFIELD.

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA, Vol. II, Pts. I, II. By Don  
MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE.

The two first parts of the second volume of Wickremasinghe's interesting publication contain principally pillar inscriptions belonging to the tenth and eleventh centuries. The Kirigallāwa pillar (No. 1), discovered by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in 1892 about 20 miles north-north-east of Anurādhapura, was set up by King Udaya I in the year 953 A.D. Wickremasinghe has found out in this occasion (p. 9) that the kings of the tenth century use the titles Salamevan and Siri Sang-bo alternatively. If one was known as Salamevan his successor was called Siri Sang-bo and vice versa.

Nos. 2-5 are pillar inscriptions of about the same date and the same contents. Their subject is the granting of the usual immunities to villages in the neighbourhood of Anurādhapura. The form of the letters and the style of the language in the Timbirivāva inscription (No. 3) are in agreement with the Moragoda pillar of Kassapa IV (vol. i, No. 17), the first twelve lines in both being almost the same word for word.

No. 6 is a pillar inscription of Kassapa V discovered by Mr. Bell in the ruins of Maḍirigiriya, 46 miles south-east of Anurādhapura. The nature of the privileges agrees in the main with other similar records of the period, but in addition to these the inscription contains rules for the management of the hospital attached to the monastery. The expression used for "hospital" is *ved-hal* = *vaḍḍyaḥālā*, and the inmates of the hospital are called *ved-hal-vāṣaṇ* (C 10). The other terms mentioned by Wickremasinghe on p. 26, viz. *ved-hal-kāmiyaṇ*, *ved-hal-dasun*, *ved-samdaruṣaṇ*, *ved-hal-badgam bim*, *ved-hal-bad-kudḍin*, do not occur in the inscription.

The order that "dead goats and fowls should be given to the hospital" (C 16) would show that animal food was

allowed in these Buddhist institutions, but the translation of this passage is doubtful.

*Vela-yut pasdenā* (B 24) is translated "the five superintendents of fields" and *velā-yut samdaruvān* (C 12, 13) "agricultural officials". Clough's Dictionary has a word *vela* = land sown with grain, field or farm. It must be identical with Sanskrit *vela*, "garden, park" (Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 1111). A different word is *vel* = Skt. *velā*, "coast" (Geiger, No. 1390).

No. 7 contains a grant of the usual immunities to a certain plot of ground belonging to Tisaram nunnery. In C 11, 12 we ought to read *kolpāṭṭin* instead of *tolpāṭṭin* and compare this with *kolpatri* in the Mahākalattawa inscription (A.I.C., No. 110) A and C. I have translated this passage "in agreement with the Kolpattrā community of priests", and stick to this translation until further notice.

The Aetaviragollaeva pillar (No. 9) is the only inscription contained in this volume which has been published before by Dr. Goldschmidt in 1876 and by me in 1883 (A.I.C., No. 117) with an incomplete translation. The contents are the usual immunities granted to the village Velangama, but in the introduction King Dappula V tells us that he ransacked the Pāṇḍya country and obtained a victory in the ninth year of his reign (1000 A.D.).

With regard to the translation I have the following remarks to make: For the term *uḷurūḍu* (C 3) Wickremasinghe refers us to vol. i, p. 199, n. 12. There we find the translation "basket-makers", which has no etymological foundation. But the same word occurs also in vol. i, p. 112, n. 3, and there we have the correct translation "brick-layers". *Uḷurūḍu* = Pali *uḷḷikāraḍḍhukā* (Mahāv. 222). The translation of *daligattān* by "bird-catchers" seems correct. In *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, 514, the Pali *jaliko* is rendered by *varadālvadda*. *Tundies* (C 22) is a difficult word. Wickremasinghe refers us again to

vol. i, p. 199, but there also he gives no translation. In *Jātaka*, v, p. 102, we read—

*Rattimhi corā khādanti, divā khādanti tundiya  
ratthasimim khaḍḍarājasaṃ bahu adhammiko jano.*

By night to thieves a prey are we, to publicans by day,  
Lewd folks abound within the realm, when evil kings  
bear sway.

Most probably our *tundiya* is the same as this *tundiya* in the *Jātaka*. The meaning "publicans" would suit very well.

Another translation is possible if we lay stress upon the *s* in *tundise*. Burnell in his *Elements of South Indian Palæography* (London, 1878) on p. 126 mentions the kingdoms of Pandion and of Tundia. The first occurs in *Periplus Maris Erythr.*, § 58, and in Ptolemy, vii, 1, §§ 11, 79; Pliny, vi, 105; the second in *Periplus*, § 54; Ptolemy, vii, 1, § 8. Now the name *Pāṇḍi* is frequent enough in the inscriptions of the tenth century. It generally stands together with *Soli* (the kingdom of the Colas in Southern India), as for instance in the Timbiriwāwa inscription (vol. ii, No. 3), B 22. Under the circumstances it would be quite natural to find also the kingdom of *Tundia*. Then the translation would run thus: "The inhabitants of Tundia shall not enter." Cf. also the Rājamāligāwa pillar inscription at Polonnaruwa (vol. ii, No. 10), B 24, 25. I give both renderings of this important expression, but I confess that I prefer the first one.

The second part of vol. ii begins with the Rājamāligāwa and Mayilagastota pillar inscriptions of Mahinda IV. The latter of the two has been published before by Dr. Goldschmidt and by myself (A.I.C., No. 120). Wickremasinghe accepts our statement that Mahinda IV of the Mahāvamsa is identical with the Siri Sang-boy Abahay of the Mihintale tablets and with the Mihindu of the

Mayilagaṣṭoṭa inscription, and traces out a genealogical table which enables us to form an idea as to how the Ceylon kings of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries were related to one another. With regard to the translation, he deviates in several points from the one given by me in 1883. In this respect I have the following remarks to make :—

Line A 26 we ought to read *vavusthā karū* and translate in the manner adopted by Wickremasinghe in his note 5. *Vavusthā* means "regulation" and occurs in the Vessagiri inscription of Mahinda IV (*Epigr. Zeyl.*, vol. i, No. 2), line 30, and in the Paepiliyāna inscription of Parākramabāhu VI (A.I.C., No. 160).<sup>1</sup> Wickremasinghe's rendering of B 3-10 is preferable to mine. With regard to B 13-21, I can neither accept his translation nor do I stick to my own. The passage remains obscure.

No. 13 is a slab inscription of King Kirti Niṣṣanka Malla at the Ruvanvāli Dāgoba in Anurādhapura, published before by Rhys Davids in JRAS. VII, p. 353 f., and by me in A.I.C., No. 145. In his introductory remarks (p. 74) Wickremasinghe calls attention to a class of fowlers called *Kāmbodī* and mentioned in line 27. He believes that "the *Kāmbodjas* have come to Ceylon as horse-dealers and that a colony of them may have settled permanently in Anurādhapura in company with the Yavanas when that city was in the zenith of its glory". That the *Kāmbodjas* were known principally as horse-dealers in Ancient India is proved by several passages in the Jātaka, the Mahāvastu, and the Indian lexicographers, to which Mr. G. K. Nariman in his interesting article in this Journal for 1912, pp. 255-7, has called attention. From line 27 of our inscription we learn that in Ceylon they were known as bird-catchers, and that Niṣṣanka Malla,

<sup>1</sup> Jolly, *Zeitsch. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, xlv, p. 344, translates it by "Rechtsgutachten".

"by bestowing on them gold and cloth and whatever kind of wealth they wished," gave security to birds.

Weber, in his reviews of James d'Alwis' introduction to Kaccāyana's grammar of the Pāli language (*Indische Streifen*, ii, 316 ff.) and of Burnell's *Elements of South Indian Palaeography* (*Indische Streifen*, iii, 348 ff.), has shown that *Kamboja* has quite a different signification in the inscriptions of Aśoka from that which it has in later Pāli lexicography, as for instance *Abhidhanappadīpikā*, 185, from where Childers takes his quotation. In Vedic literature *Kamboja* is the name of a nation on the north-west frontier of India, supposed to have dwelt in close proximity to the Yavanas. Later on the name was transferred to Further India in the same way as *Cāmpā*, the capital of the Angas (the modern Bhagulpore), was later on a city near the mouth of the River Mekong (*Barth Inscriptions manuscrites du Camboge*, p. 69). The descendants of the first-mentioned *Kambojas* had adopted the Mussulman creed and used to trade all along the west coast of India from the Persian Gulf down to Ceylon and probably further east, while the *Kambojas* of Further India were devout Buddhists. I think Wickremasinghe is correct in stating that the *Kambojas* mentioned in Niṣṣanka Malla's inscription belonged to the former class (p. 76).

The remaining portion of pt. ii contains some more inscriptions of the same king, viz. the slab inscription of the Hata-Dā-ge portico at Pollonaruwa (No. 14), the Hata-Dā-ge vestibule wall inscription (No. 15), the Hata-Dā-ge inside wall inscription (No. 16). They offer no particular interest.

Before concluding this review I must make up for an omission which I committed some years ago in reviewing the fifth part of the first volume of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. It concerns the expression *pārādhār* in the Kiribat-vehera inscription (p. 161) and in the Iripiṇṇiyāva

pillar inscription (p. 170). Wickremasinghe is perfectly correct in identifying this with *perihāra*, "immunity." He or I might have added that this word with the same signification occurs several times in Manu, viii, 237-9. See Bühler's translation, SBE. xxv, 248.

E. MÜLLER.

BERNE, November, 1914.

**TAMIL STUDIES, OR, ESSAYS ON THE HISTORY OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE, LANGUAGE, RELIGION, AND LITERATURE. By M. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR, M.A. Madras, 1914.**

The author, in his preface to this work, states that he has essayed "for the first time to put together the result of past researches, so as to present before the reader a complete bird's-eye view of Tamil culture and civilization". For this purpose he has not only utilized his own wide and scholarly knowledge of Dravidian languages and literature, but has based his facts on the reliable evidence of epigraphic remains and inscriptions. Up to the present time fiction and fable have, to a great extent, sufficed as a groundwork on which to found an account of early Dravidian history and literature. Translations of early texts are often useless as being merely essays in so-called poetry; they seldom give the true meaning of the original, and are generally unreliable for any critical or historical purposes. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar points out that "communication of knowledge in these days is best done in prose, not poetry . . . The prose should be simple and idiomatic, free alike from pedantry and baldness". The author, therefore, while fully recognizing the work of previous scholars, such, for instance, as that of P. Sundaram Pillei in his *Milestones of Tamil Literature*, and that of Dr. Barnett in his *Catalogue of Tamil Books in the British Museum*, with its valuable introduction, may well claim

to have satisfied the crying want for a textbook of accurate information, given in clear and idiomatic English, respecting early Dravidian history and literature.

Essays on Dravidian Ethnology lead up to the fatal division of the people into the right- and left-hand castes which is traced by the author to the time of Rājārāja Chola, after his conquests in the first quarter of the eleventh century. The division arose after A.D. 1010, when the Chola monarch "marshalled his extensive armies . . . into two great divisions, the one consisting of those men who had won for him victories in all his foreign campaigns, and the other composed of new soldiers from the Pandya, the Telugu, and Canarese countries, who had formerly fought against him from his enemies' camp. The former, recruited chiefly from the Vedan, Nattaman, Malayaman, and Paraiya castes, he called the right-hand army (*valanku relakkaran*), while the latter made up of the Pallana, Pallis, Madegas, and Bedars (Canarese hunters), was called the left-hand army". This argument for a military and political origin of the ever-perplexing division of the agricultural and artisan classes is supported by evidence from the inscription of Rajendra Chola where the "old troops of the right hand" (*valankupparum padayin!*) are referred to in contradistinction to the new ones of the left hand, further, from the fact that Ādirajendra Chola (A.D. 1065) imposed a poll-tax (*S. I. Ins.*, vol. iii, p. 165) on all male members of both factions.

Some suggestive facts are advanced to support the author's view that the Vatteluttu alphabet was introduced from Western Asia by Tamil merchants about the seventh or eighth century B.C., and that, although it was supplanted by the Grantha characters in or about the tenth century, it was not borrowed or adapted from the Brahmi or Asoka alphabet. His account of Dravidian philology ably supplements the work of Caldwell's



**Comparative Grammar.** The Academy period of literature is held to have extended from 500 a.c. to a.d. 500, and included the eight anthologies, the ten major and eighteen minor poems, as previously set forth by Śeṣhagiri Śāstri in his *Essay on Tamil Literature*. The Jain, Buddhist, and Brahmanic periods of early literature are extended down to a.d. 950, while from that date down to a.d. 1200 the sacred hymns and poems of Śaivas and Vaishnavas, which had till then remained scattered, were collected and arranged. A detailed and lucid account of this period of literature expands the recent exposition set forth in Farquhar's *Primer of Hinduism*.

A chapter is specially devoted to the Āzhvārs or Vaishnava saints, of whom it is pointed out that "religious fanatics have gathered together a mass of legendary and superstitious accounts often of a conflicting and sometimes of an incredible nature".

The Tiru Vāchakam of Tiru Mānikka Vāchakar is held to have been composed about a.d. 870, while its compilation, together with the earlier Devārām hymns of Appar, Sambandhar, and Sundarar, and other poems into the eleven Tiru Murai by Nambi Āṇḍar Nambi, is dated about a.d. 1025. To this date also is ascribed the compilation, with the assistance of Śrī Nātha Muni, of the Vaishnava hymns into the Nālāyira Prabandham. It is a relief to find that translations of extracts from early Tamil poems are given in prose and not in poetry. Unfortunately, many of these extracts remain untranslated into English. As the work is eminently suited to be a reliable textbook for English and Indian students, a hope may be expressed that in a future edition these extracts may receive translation.

R. W. FRASER.

**KASHMIRI ŚHAIVISM** : being a brief introduction to the history, literature, and doctrines of the Advaita Śhaiva philosophy of Kashmir, specifically called the Trika System. By J. C. CHATTERJI, B.A. (Cantab.), Vidyāvaridhi. Fasciculus I. (The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, vol. ii.) 8vo. The Research Department, Kashmir State: Srinagar (Bombay printed), 1914.

Mr. Chatterji is fortunate: he has a wide general knowledge, a thorough grasp of Kashmiri Śaiva literature, a happy gift of expression which enables him to convey the peculiar philosophical conceptions of Hindu thinkers in terms intelligible to the Western mind, and lastly the office of Director of the Research Department in the State of Kashmir, which puts at his disposal the best books and the ablest native intellects in that country. The present book shows that he has made good use of all these advantages.

This first volume falls into two parts, part i treating of the history and literature of the subject, part ii of its doctrines. The origins of the Śaivism of Kashmir are rather obscure. Its literature, as it exists in its present form, may be classified, as Mr. Chatterji shows, under three heads—Āgama-śāstra, Spanda-śāstra, and Pratyabhijñā-śāstra. The Āgamic books, which tend towards Tantrism, seem to have preached a dualistic system of theology, which, taken together with the analysis of nature developed in detail in other parts of Śaiva literature, shows a striking parallel to the system of the Sēśvara-Sāṅkhya. To eliminate this dualistic heresy a new school arose, of which the earliest extant product is the Śiva-sūtra ascribed to the god Śiva, which with its commentaries—notably the ancient *vṛtti*, Bhāskara's *vṛttika*, and Kṛṣṇa-rāja's *Vimarśini*—teach a thoroughgoing monistic idealism, and endeavour to interpret the older Āgamas in that sense. *The Spanda school, based on the Spanda-kārikā ascribed*

to Vasu-gupta (flourished early in the ninth century), with the *vṛtti* of the latter's disciple Kallāṭa and some later commentaries, follows the general principles of the Śiva-sūtra, enunciating its doctrines in dogmatic form. Lastly, the Pratyabhijñā-sūtra,<sup>1</sup> accepting the same idealistic doctrines, and supporting them with logical argument and active polemic, was founded by Sōmānanda (probably a disciple of Vasu-gupta) in his Śiva-drsti, which was followed by Utpalā's Īvara-pratyabhijñā-sūtra, with the *vṛtti* of the latter author and Abhinava-gupta's commentaries Vimarśini and Vivṛti-vimarśini, etc. These three idealistic schools are often collectively designated by the term Trika.<sup>2</sup>

One is tempted to speculate on the historical relation between this Trika of Kashmir and the Śaiva-siddhānta of Southern India. The two systems have obviously so much in common that they may well have originated from a common source. In e.g. their classification of the Śaktis and the modes of the phenomenal universe they are practically at one. Their chief difference seems to be in the conception of the relation between the Absolute Śiva, the individual soul, and the Māyā, the material principle. Here the Trika is throughout a monistic idealism. The Southern Siddhānta is less clear: sometimes it seems to preach dualism, as when it opposes the Absolute Śiva to Māyā and the individual souls, and sometimes again it asserts their fundamental unity, e.g. when it declares that

<sup>1</sup> The Harva darsana-saṅgraha applies this term not only to the doctrines here mentioned, but also to the schools based on the Śiva-sūtra and Hṛdya-kārikā.

<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity to acknowledge with gratitude Mr. Chatterji's correction on p. 11 of my mistake in JRAS. 1910, p. 719. But I regret to say that I am still not convinced that Abhinava-gupta's Paramārthasāra is based upon the Vaiṣṇava tract of that name, and that the latter is really the ancient Ādhāra-kārikā. The whole is greater than its part: if, as Abhinava-gupta asserts, his P. is an *expansion* of the Ādhāra-kārikā, it must have been shorter than the latter; but it is actually longer than the Vaiṣṇava P.

the worlds are the body of Śiva, souls His senses, the Śaktis His organ of thought (Śiva-ānanda-siddhiyār, iii, v. 7), and expresses their relation as "neither one, nor two, nor neither one nor two"—in fact, a relation which can only be conceived in mystic exaltation above the realm of reason, by the spirit of grace. These and other circumstances lead one to suspect that the basis of the Southern Siddhānta may be found in the older Āgamic teachings of Kashmir, and Mr. Chatterji would greatly increase our already deep obligation to him if he would collect and publish some selections from those works.

L. D. BARNETT.

IRON IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Professor PANCHANAN NEOGI, M.A., F.C.S., Government College, Rajshahi, Bengal. Bulletin No. 12 of the Indian Association for the Advancement of Science. Calcutta, 1914.

The activity of the Indian Association for the Advancement of Science is a welcome feature in the rapidly changing scene of modern life in India. Professor Neogi has chosen a good subject for his contribution, and is, no doubt, well qualified to deal with it from the technical point of view. He has not, however, confined himself to that, and has ventured into discussions of Vedic philology and archæological matters where he is not so much at home.

Many Hindu authors have been engaged recently in trying to prove that their forefathers knew everything rather better than their contemporaries elsewhere. Professor Neogi seeks to show that Ancient India knew more about steel and the forging of iron than other nations, and makes out a good case. It would have been better if the author had deferred publication until he could have made full use of Sir Robert Hadfield's treatise

an "Simultaneous Iron and Steel of Ancient Origin" in the *Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute*, 1912, and had studied more thoroughly the history of the ancient use of metals in Egypt, Babylonia, and other countries. He has merely incorporated Hadfield's analysis of Ceylon iron, and obviously is not deeply read about the archaeological subjects on which he touches.

In his interpretation of Vedic passages Professor Neogi relies much on the commentary of Śāyana. But that author lived in the fourteenth century, and there is little reason to trust his opinions about the exact designations of metals in Vedic times. It is unlikely that the Brahmins should have preserved any real tradition on such a subject, which concerned the technical knowledge of the artisan castes, and in all probability the guesses of Śāyana are of no more value than those of his European successors. The fact that Śāyana assumed *ayas* in various passages of the Rig Veda to mean "iron" does not prove that to be the real meaning. I am not convinced that the Rigvedic *ayas* must necessarily be interpreted as "iron." Although some commentators and the dictionaries give "silver" as a meaning of *hiranya*, I doubt if that word can really have meant either "gold" or "silver" at pleasure. Such an ambiguity seems to be intolerable. Perhaps *hiranya* may have been an alloy of silver and gold. It is somewhat rash to affirm that "the use of iron was common in India from 2000 B.C."

It may be that in some countries the use of iron preceded that of bronze (p. 31), but it is impossible to believe that people who knew iron would go on using pure copper for ordinary tools. I showed some years ago (*Ind. Ant.*, 1905, 1907) that tools of practically pure copper were once largely used in India. The Gungeria hoard from the Central Provinces comprised 424 hammered copper implements associated with 102 silver plates,

evidently all buried together in a box, and many other specimens of copper tools have been found in various parts of India, especially in old beds of the Ganges near Cawnpore. The use of those objects must have preceded that of iron. Professor Sayce tells me that he believes that the ancients knew some method for hardening copper. It should be remembered, too, that by employing corundum powder the action of tools of comparatively soft metal could be much improved.

To return to the iron and steel. Professor Neogi clearly proves that the ancient Indians knew how to make steel by the direct process from wrought iron, and that they possessed exceptional skill in welding "blooms" of wrought iron into huge masses. The iron pillar of Mihrauli near Delhi is 23 ft. 8 in. long, with a diameter varying from 12.05 to 16.4 inches, and certainly was made in that way. I have now given up my theory that the inscription on that pillar refers to Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya (circa A.D. 380-413), and am disposed to agree with M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri that it refers to Chandravarman of Pushkarana, Rājputāna, who lived about half a century earlier (*Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 290 n). The Dhār pillar originally more than 42 feet long, of uncertain but apparently later date, is still more massive. Those cases prove the skill of the ancient Hindus in perfectly forging extraordinary masses of iron. The beams of the Konārak temple are of very inferior manufacture.

The opportunity may be taken of mentioning the success attained by the old Hindu craftsmen in casting copper on a very large scale by the *cire perdue* process. The colossal Buddha from Sultānganj, now in the Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, stands 7½ feet high and dates from about A.D. 400 (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, fig. 118). The Chinese pilgrim tells us that at Nālanda in South Bihār there was a still more remarkable work,

a copper image of Buddha, 80 feet in height, which required a six-story pavilion to accommodate it, and was erected about A.D. 600 by Purnavarman, Rājā of Magadha (Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 119; *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, 174).

These facts suggest that Professor Neogi might do well to expand his treatise and produce a thoroughly worked out *History of Metallurgy in Ancient India*. His essay, as it stands, gives an impression of rather hasty production. It is not permissible to assume that the so-called "Somnāth gates" stored in the Fort at Agra may be "authentic" (p. 32). They are purely Muhammedan work, and bear an Arabic inscription in the Kufic character relating to the family of Sabuktigin, for whom prayers are offered by the writer (*Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India, 1903* 4, p. 17. Horovitz, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* No. 3 p. 38, Calcutta, 1912). A truthful label is now affixed to the gates, but errors die hard, and people, no doubt will insist for a long time yet in believing them to be 'authentic'.

It may be noted that Professor Neogi in opposition to Professor Benoy Kumār Sarkār believes the *Sukranīti* to be "a compilation evidently of the sixteenth century

# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October-December, 1914)

## I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

*October 13, 1914.*—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

Thirty-two nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Dr. D. B. Spooner read a paper on "Mr. Tata's Excavations at Pataliputra".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Vincent Smith, Professor Macdonell, Dr. Thomas, Colonel Waddell, and Dr. Hagopian took part.

*November 10, 1914.*—Mr. F. E. Pargiter in the Chair.  
The following were elected members of the Society :

Lady Boyle.

Miss M. Lowes Dickinson.

Mr. S. M. Ameen.

Mr. Jagannath Bhandari.

Dewan Bahadur Govindass Chathoorbhoojadass.

Babu Devakumar Ray Chaudhuri.

Mr. Sailendranath Comar.

Mr. Duncan Dunbar Dickson.

Sheikh Abdur Rahim Baksh Ellahi.

Moulvi Syed Abul Fatah.

Rai Bahadur Mati Lal Ganguli.

Mr. Suprakash Ganguli.

The Rev. Jnanaratna Kavidhwaja Gunalankar.

Mr. Signar Hilleison.

Mr. K. S. Hankar Rana Iyer.

Dr. Gangannath Jha.

Mr. A. N. Kent.



**Mr. Ghulam Hyder Khan.**

**Shafaul Mulk Hakum Abdur Rashid Khan.**

**Mr. Mg. Ba Ko.**

**Mr. Surendra Nath Kumar.**

**Babu Bimala Charan Law.**

**Mr. Anant Ram Madan.**

**The Rev. E. Osborn Martin.**

**Babu Surendranath Mitra.**

**Mr. Morgan Philips Price.**

**Moulvi Hafiz Abdur Razzak.**

**Mr. H. L. Shuttleworth.**

**Dr. H. Suhrawardy.**

**Mr. Vattasseri Sri Velayudhan Tampi.**

**Moulvi Syed Abdul Wahid.**

**Major P. L. E. Warming.**

Four nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. Herbert Baynes read a paper entitled "The Oriental Origin of the Conception of Law".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Pinches and the Chairman took part.

*December 8, 1914.* - The Right Hon Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair

The following were elected members of the Society

M<sup>me</sup> Marielle.

Rev. A. W. Davies.

Mr. M. P. Hajeer Abdul Azeez Maricar.

Mr. H. E. C. Campbell Wintle.

Two nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin read a paper entitled "Ma définition de la grande Véhicule".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Mead, Dr. Thomas, Dr. Denison Ross, Professor Barnett M. Petrucci, and Mrs. Rode took part.

## II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

### I. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série XI, Tome III, No. 3.

Pelliot (P.). Les documents chinois trouvés par la mission Koslov à Khara-Khoto.

Weill (R.). Monuments et histoire de la période comprise entre la fin de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie et la restauration thébaine.

Contenau (G.). La cour et la maisonnée d'un patési d'Umma au temps du roi Dungi.

Berske (M.). Les inscriptions bouddhiques du mont Koulen.

### II. RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI. Vol. VI, Fasc. III.

Rescher (O.). La Mo'allauqa de Antara, avec la commentaire d'Ibn el-Anbari.

Ferrario (B.). L'accento in somalo.

Boson (G.). Alcuni nomi di pietre nelle iscrizioni assiro-babilonensi.

Nazari (O.). Rgyeda, libro I, inno 6.

Puini (C.). Di una singolare incarnazione di Samanta bhadra Bodhisattva.

### III. THE MUSEUM JOURNAL (UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA). Vol. V, No. II.

The Alexander Scott Collection of Art Objects from Tibet and Nepal

### IV. JOURNAL OF THE STRAITS BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, No. LXVI.

Mead (J. P.). A Romanized Version of the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai

### V. JOURNAL OF THE NORTH CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. XLV. 1914.

Wilhelm (R.). On the Sources of Chinese Taoism.

Ferguson (J. C.). "Ink Remains" by an I-Chore.

Edgar (Rev. J. Huston). *Through the Land of Deep Corrosions.*

— The Great Weal.

Couling (S.). *The Oracle Bones from Honan.*

Stanley (A.). *Chinese Wood-carving.*

Bois-Reymond (C. du). *A Chinese Sun-dial.*

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Moule (Rev. A. C.). *A Table of the Emperors of the Yuan Dynasty.*

#### VI. INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. XLIII, Pt. dclvii.

Tessitori (L. P.). *Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthani.* \*

Rangachari (V.). *History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura.*

Vishveshwar Nath Shastri. *Hathal Plates of (Paramara) Dharavarsha, Samvat, 1237.*

Enthoven (R. E.). *Folklore of the Konkan.*

#### VII. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY. Vol. XXXVI, Pt. vi.

Sayce (A. H.). *Geographical Notes on the Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscriptions.*

Gwynn (Rev. R. M.). *An Omen Text dealing with Houses.*

Wash (W. L.). *Notes on some Egyptian Antiquities.*

Langdon (S.). *An account of the Pre-Semitic Version of the Fall of Man.*

#### VIII. TÖYÖ-GAKUHO. Vol. IV, No. iii.

Shiratori (B. K.). *Comparative Study of Korean and Ural-Altaic Languages.*

Goto (B. A.). *Study on the Chinese Ancient Studies carved on Tortoise-shell.*

Hashimoto (B. M.). *Study of the Ancient Chinese Classic Shu-ching.*

## IX. T'OUNG PAO. Vol. XV, No. iii.

Cordier (H.). Les Correspondants de Bertin.

Mathieu (G.). Le système musical.

Laferrière-Pontalis (P.). Wen tan.

Aurousseau (L.). A propos de l'article de Sylvain Lévi—  
Le Tokharien "B" langue de Koutcha.

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Rockhill (W. W.). Notes on the Relations and Trade of  
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the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century.

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## ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

**PHOTOGRAPHS** of Mongolian Scenery and Peoples, taken and presented by Mr. A. S. Kent.

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### DISTRICT GAZETTES.

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No. 2, October, 1914. *From the Author.*

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- Tuckwell, Rev. J., and Joseph McCabe.** *The First Chapter of Genesis and Modern Science.* 8vo. *London, 1909.*  
*From Mr. Tuckwell.*
- .... - *Letters from around the World, together with Memorials of the Tuckwell Family, and a brief Biography of the Author.* 8vo. *London and Glasgow.*  
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